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NEAR EAST/NORTH AFRICA REPORT

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DIFFERENCES IN INTERPRETATION OF CEASEFIRE OUTLINED

Beirut FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH in Arabic No 423, 17 May 82 pp 24-25

[Article by Rafi'q Ahmed" "'Ceasefire' in the Israeli Interpretation and the Palestinian Interpretation"]

[Text] After having reluctantly asked for a ceasefire last July with the PLO through diplomatic channels (the Palestinian's shelling made life hell for the settlers), Begin turned around and "eased up" on Palestinian fortresses in southern Lebanon. He then proceeded to "rebuke" his generals whose reputations were now sullied, asserting his "qualification" for the job of achieving "security" for the settlers by political means, after accusing them that they were unable to do so through air strikes.

And even after having "silently" drunk the cup of military and political defeat at the hands of the PLO, Begin still reserves--or so he thinks, in his own peculiar way--the right to abide by the ceasefire and to violate it at any time he pleases!

Although the PLO also turned its back on Begin's delusions and "sleights of hand," it likewise assigns its own meaning to the word ceasefire. The "latest prophet of Israel," however, remained assured that the "northern front" was now secure, and was overbearing about having imposed silence over the other "unimportant" fronts.

Begin tried to blunt the edge of the continuing West Bank resistance by applying his own special understanding of "ceasefire" to the "northern front": first sending fighter planes to hover-over Lebanon, and then in April striking at Palestinian positions. It appears that the joint forces [in Lebanon] refusal to respond immediately to this violation of the ceasefire encouraged the enemy's Cabinet to launch another strike against Lebanese and Palestinian positions on last 9 May.

Although the Palestinians shelled the settlements with at least 150 Katyusha shells, they nevertheless failed to end the ceasefire which Israel had violated previously. They did, however, put to rest "Israel's understanding" of the ceasefire. They demonstrated that the force of the explosion [on the West Bank] which occasioned the ceasefire exceeded even the force of thousands of shells which rained down on the settlements last July. There were indications that the initiative had not passed to the PLO, according to statements by the enemy's

own leadership carried in its own media, by the implications inherent in the way the PLO dealt with the ceasefire, and especially most recently in the way the PLO responded quickly and decisively to the raid by "Israel" which broke the cease-fire.

The "Israeli" Interpretation

Prior to the Palestinians' Ramadan War in March 1978 "Israel" tried to appear as if it had total freedom of action with regard to the PLO, whether it be in striking at its positions in Lebanon or whether in stalking it "all over the world."

There were no curbs on Israel's meaning of the word "ceasefire" whatsoever, just as there are none to act on its concept of "Israeli security" or "Israel's borders."

However, the March war had the effect of qualifying Israel's sense of "absolute freedom" in the face of PLO firepower, but without any substantial change in perceptions. It continues to act as if it had unlimited control over whether fighting should resume or imposing a ceasefire: It decides the time, place, and the duration of aggression, and then halts it without any regard at all to international protests, or to any other variables in the region.

In July 1981 it proceeded to conduct itself according to the same premise, only this time it began its aggression without knowing how to stop it in the face of the resolute Palestinian response, and in the local and regional chain-reactions which followed. Israel was then forced to "recognize" the only force that could implement a ceasefire and halt the Katyusha shelling of its settlements. It had to indirectly yield to the PLO's conditions, and to a ceasefire, but without offering any interpretation that could prevent it from breaching the ceasefire at any moment it sees fit.

After several months of observing the "ceasefire," Begin's government decided, for a number of reasons, to break it, despite his knowledge of the force of the likely Palestinian response. In this manner, Israel's understanding of the "ceasefire" was made clearer. It not only meant a ceasefire on the "northern borders", but also in the interior and on all Arab borders, including southern Lebanon.

Naturally this "interpretation" was present in Begin's mind, both in July when he informed those concerned that he regarded the ceasefire applying only to southern Lebanon, and in the period in which he was beset with difficulties and in which he displayed "adherence" to the ceasefire.

Whatever the reasons that led, not long ago, to the Begin government's breach of the ceasefire, the facts remain that fighter-planes appeared over Lebanon circling Palestinian positions, and an invasion was launched last April.

With a continuity that may be called the Palestinian "legacy", the Cabinet decided to launch a new raid on 9 May last. It was this raid which brought forth a quick and decisive, albeit controlled, Palestinian response.

"Israel's" continuous violation of the ceasefire agreed upon in July of 1981 led to a PLO response which set off a clamor inside Israel and revealed the dilemma facing Begin's government over how to qualify its understanding of the "cease-fire" and how to deal with the PLO.

A number of statements on the latest raid by certain of the enemy's leaders reveal one horn of dilemma of "Israel's understainding" of the ceasefire.

The enemy's army leadership justified its breach of the ceasefire by referring to the "dangerous violations" committed by the PLO in the days preceding the raid.

A spokesman for the [Israeli] Cabinet called the raid "normal policy". At the same time, Foreign Minister Shamir stated that "a genuine ceasefire means that the Palestinians refrain from any aggression on Israel"! Two generals with sullied military reputations, Sharon and Eytan, referred to their "determination" not to allow a war of attrition to occur on the "northern front," and to their "doubt" as to whether there is really any intention to hold a ceasefire.

Nevertheless, "Israel's anxiety" (resulting from the PLO's response to the broken ceasefire) is reflected in its media and by its political observers. In an interview on the enemy's radio, Havia Yeshid and Yosef Hariv responded to the interviewer's questions with: "There has been a great increase in the fedayeen's strength since the ceasefire. It is enough merely to point out that they began with 80 cannons, and now they have 250 cannons! That suggests a great increase in strength" which leads them to conclude that the fedayeen "won't heed our warnings." Yeshid was then asked whether the fedayeen "are planning to take the initiative by being the ones to breach the ceasefire first." The "Israeli dilemma" is reflected in the impossibility of maintaining its own interpretation of the ceasefire, on the one hand, and in its fears over the PLO seizing the initiative, on the other. The dilemma centers on Begin either maintaining the ceasefire or eating from the "forbidden fruit," as happened last July.

The Palestinian Interpretation

The Palestinian interpretation of the ceasefire was, and continues to be, absolutely unambiguous. It is predicated on a refusal to cease hostilities until the Palestinian people are accorded their national rights.

Local and regional pressure on the Palestinians were suddenly "paralyzed" when the PLO effectively took the initiative in southern Lebanon without paying any attention to any calls for a ceasefire, in light of "Israeli" aggression directed at Lebanon and at Palestinian positions there. The PLO temporarily accepted a "qualification" to its interpretation of the ceasefire in July 1981 by adhering to it only in southern Lebanon. In return it scored a political victory by having its own role as a party to the ceasefire recognized, while still preserving complete freedom of action in confronting "Israel" on other fronts and in the interior.

At the same time, the Palestinian gamble was based on our intimate knowledge of Zionist racism and the Israeli dilemma that would inevitably lead to a violation

of the ceasefire by Israel. In this way the PLO was released from all local and regional restraints in responding to Israeli violations. This is an important factor in forming an appropriate political cover in which to exercise the "Palestinian interpretation: of when to open fire on "Israel," on the one hand, and a qualified, temporary adherence to the ceasefire, on the other. A third advantage is the guarantee of the Palestinian right to respond to ceasefire violations by the regional, Arab, and international community.

For these reasons, the Palestinian response to the latest raid was quick and unequivocal. In the words of a military spokesman, the shelling of enemy military targets in the occupied land came as a response "air attacks carried out in violation by the enemy of the ceasefire and with the consent of the Israeli government."

New Dimensions

Reactions inside Israel to the Palestinian response to the broken ceasefire has led to a new "Israeli interpretation" of the ceasefire. After the "calm" that surrounded southern Lebanon prior to the latest Israeli raids, now it is the PLO that holds the initiative and retains the right to a quick and direct response [to aggression].

Should "Israel" again embark on any new and wide-ranging aggression, as in the July or March wars then the PLO this time will refuse to cease their fire until "Israel" publicly announces its adherence to a ceasefire similar to the one decided on in July. Israel's indirect recognition of the PLO's right to open fire from all the fronts which Israel has previously regarded as belonging to the ceasefire agreement.

However, "Israel's" difficult position in this context might move the PLO to insist on continuing to confront Israel in a local and Arab context that is more favorable than the one in which the PLO was working within the past, i.e., operations, and attacks strictly through the Lebanese borders.

Any extended military confrontation between "Israel" and Palestinians carries with it a serious threat to the region. Washington doesn't wish to see this happen as it is currently endeavoring to broaden Camp David and preserve the existing situation, or perhaps to change it to its advantage.

These new dimensions brought forth by the latest raid and by the Palestinian response to "Israeli" violations serve to "deepen, and add to, the dilemma of "Israel's interpretation" of the ceasefire.

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FUTURE DIFFICULTIES FACING OPEC

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL in Arabic No 37, Apr 82 pp 68-69

[Article by 'Imad al-Haj: "OPEC's Lean Years"]

[Text] If OPEC wishes to increase its sales of oil it will have to bear a decrease in prices, possibly a severe decrease. If it wants to maintain current prices, then OPEC will have to drop back sharply on production, and do it very soon. In either case there is a price to pay, and OPEC's big problem now is how to distribute its oil. Will it succeed?

OPEC has been facing a critical struggle for its very survival for the last year and a half. The crisis may now have reached a peak, as manifested in the oil glut threatening the very price structure of OPEC oil, and hence one of the major props on which the cartel bases its strength on the world scene. The crisis first became apparent with the dispute between OPEC members over which oil policy to follow. Before long the problem worsened with, first, political differences, and then military conflict between some of OPEC's members. Then at the end of 1980, while preparing for a summit meeting commemorating OPEC's 20th anniversary, war broke out between Iraq and Iran. It was the first time war ever broke out between OPEC members. It interrupted the forthcoming summit conference. At the height of its strength, OPEC was suddenly exposed to the winds of divisiveness, enfeeblement and fragmentation.

The split between the so-called "hawks" and "doves" contributed to this state of affairs. Many questions arose among the OPEC members about what to expect in the future and about the possibility of OPEC breaking down due to internal conflict, after having survived external attempts at the cartel's dismemberment. Nevertheless, OPEC has shown, with varying degrees of success, that it can continue to survive despite internal conflict as long as they can agree on certain basic problems, the most important being unified pricing structure. The organization struggled for many months to arrive at a unified pricing structure. All members demonstrated their concern for OPEC's unity and continuity as the only means for joint survival in the face of the oil-consuming world, represented mainly by the OECD and the International Energy Agency.

Nevertheless, the course taken by events over the preceding months has proven that OPEC's consensus on a unified pricing structure in itself no longer

suffices to avoid crises that threaten the organization's future. At the same time in which the OPEC's nations were deriving great benefit from the objective conditions created by the Iranian revolution, which brought a halt to Iran's 6.5 million barrels per day of production at the time and caused prices to soar, the oil-consuming nations (in particular the western industrialized nations) began to reduce their dependence on OPEC oil. This was a lesson they had learned from the first oil crisis of 1973-73. Dependence on OPEC was lessened either by reducing their consumption altogether, or by seeking out alternative energy sources, or by using oil more efficiently, or by obtaining oil from sources other than OPEC, like Mexico, the North Atlantic, and Alaska.

The oil-producing nations of OPEC at the time tried to make the most of the price hike. They supplied all the oil they could to ensure the liquidity they required for implementing their development plans formulated after 1974. The oil market was slowly glutted with oil unable to find its way to consumers. This went on for several months, after which OPEC began to realize that it had fallen victim to the law of supply and demand. Most of the OPEC members discovered that they could not sell as much oil as they desired without lowering its price. At the beginning of this year, OPEC found itself for the first time in its history confronted with an array of forces working against it: Oil prices plummeted steadily, while supplies on the upswing. Consumption entered into a slump threatening to turn into total depression. Meanwhile, oil production in new parts of the world increased sharply.

As OPEC members attempted to increase its sales and protect its share of the oil market, it was confronted by the efforts of several nations, inside and outside of OPEC, to lower prices, whereby OPEC again faced the specter of low prices in the midst of competition by producers to dispose of their supplies. OPEC's entire price structure was threatened, the mainstay of the organization and the *raison d'être* of its existence.

The problem of oil supply and price appears simple enough, at least on the theoretical level. The problem hinges first and last upon the equilibrium of supply and demand. When supply and demand are very much in disequilibrium, the sellers find themselves with two solutions: either they lower the price in order to encourage demand or increase the price until supply catches up with it; or they might reduce supply until it meets demand and preserve the price at a given level. The second solution is the easier one to effect, especially since oil is a resource that is always in demand. Nevertheless, the situation is not as simple as all that. In an economy based primarily on a single commodity, oil, as is the case with all of the OPEC nations, any decrease in production will have a profound impact on the economic life of an entire country. That is to say, most of the oil nations have based their development projections on the expectation of a certain amount of return on exported oil. And if these exports were to contract suddenly, these nations would not find enough money with which to proceed with their developmental courses. This in turn threatens the economic life of those nations in its entirety. This applies to all of the OPEC members with the exception of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the U.A.E., because the oil revenues of these countries normally exceed the financial requirements of their

development plans, and the amount of expenditure from their treasuries, not to mention large amounts of cash reserves and investments abroad. That is why it was possible for Saudi Arabia to reduce its production from a peak of more than 10.3 million barrels per day at the beginning of 1980 to 7.5 million barrels per day at the beginning of the current year. Similarly, it was possible for Kuwait to reduce its output from an official ceiling of more than 1.2 million barrels per day to 600,000 barrels per day (keeping in mind that the reasons for these reductions differed with each country).

"Secret" Discounts

As for the other nations, especially those enjoying dense populations, the situation is altogether different. Nigeria or Indonesia cannot reduce their output very much without affecting their national economies. For this reason, they cannot resort to balancing supply and demand through reducing supply. The only course open to these countries is to lower the price in the hope of increasing exports. And when OPEC nations were unable to lower the price directly without flouting the organizations' decisions, most of them resorted to indirect means of price reduction. This was done either through barter agreements, i.e., exporting crude oil in exchange for commodities from the importing country; or by refining greater quantities of crude oil and selling it in finished form at varying discounts; or by directly, but secretly, lowering the price.

In addition to OPEC's inability to seize the initiative, officially, to lower prices, a new factor has made an appearance. Now the oil-exporting nations outside of OPEC are determined to take the initiative by directly lowering their prices by about \$2.50 to \$4.00 a barrel. In the past these nations refused, for varying reasons, to join OPEC, preferring instead to await OPEC's pricing decisions and then basing their own prices accordingly. This is a very important factor reflecting the growing strength of these non-OPEC oil-producing nations in the world arena. We find that from a 50 percent share in oil supplies to the world market in years past, OPEC today accounts for not more than 43 percent of the oil supplied to that market. That is why OPEC's role is weakening in a market glutted with oil, particularly since non-OPEC oil-producing countries enjoy greater flexibility in pricing than the OPEC nations.

OPEC's Future

This situation necessarily leads to the question: Has OPEC become incapable of controlling the world oil market? Have they let the reins fall from their hands after having held them in an iron grip since 1973?

The truth is that OPEC is facing a severe test, particularly since the solution does not (nor should it) lie in reducing oil prices. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has vowed more than once to maintain the record price of OPEC at \$34.00 a barrel and not permit it to fall below that figure. Similarly, more than one OPEC official has attested that the oil glut problem will not be resolved through price reductions. So no matter how much prices are reduced, they will remain liable to still greater plunges as long as

supplies continue to exceed what the market can absorb. This is why the American oil advisor, Walter Levy, describes the problem as "whether or not OPEC can control effectively the levels of production of oil and export." OPEC realizes that this is the only possible solution, which is why the Arab oil ministers, meeting in connection with the second Arab energy conference in Qatar last March, agreed to reduce OPEC's oil production from 20 million barrels per day to 18.5 million barrels per day cutback and announced that it had lowered the ceiling from 8.5 million to 7.5 million barrels per day in output. Despite its positive points, this solution might not suffice, although it appears that a cutback in production is the only choice OPEC can make to prove its ability to control the oil market, on the one hand, and to preserve its pricing structure, on the other. But if the resolve is there, it should not be impossible for the OPEC states to agree upon fixed criteria for reducing output and distributing the amount of the reduction among themselves, according to the situation and needs of each member and the capacity for bearing the cutback without bringing economic disaster upon itself. Many observers now believe that the OPEC nations will probably succeed in arriving at a solution of this sort, if for no other reason than it constitutes the only guarantee for the organization's continued existence as an effective force in the oil world, and because it is to the advantage of every member nation that OPEC continue to exist, come what may.

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KESHTMAND STRESSES ROLE OF NATIONAL FATHERLAND FRONT

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 13 Jun 82 pp 1, 4

[Speech by Sultan 'Ali Keshtmand, chairman of the Council of Ministers]

[Text] KABUL, June 13 (Bakhtar)—Sultan Ali Keshtmand, member of the PDPA CC Politburo and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, met yesterday in the council headquarters the presidents and secretaries of the provincial committees of the National Fatherland Front who are here to participate in the second plenum of the NFF.

With Bareq Shafie, member of the executive board and first vice-president of the Central Council of the NFF present, Keshtmand congratulated the participants on the successful conclusion of the plenum.

Keshtmand said that the formation of the NFF constitutes "one of the long-cherished and great aspirations of the PDPA". The PDPA has persistently pledged from its very beginning to form the NFF, as party documents testify.

"It is a matter of great pleasure that this aspiration has been realised after the new and evolutionary phase of the Saur Revolution", he said.

He added that the NFF has the "very important and constructive task of mobilizing and attracting the all-sided cooperation of the people for building a prosperous and blossoming society."

"One of the great gains of the new and evolutionary phase of the Saur Revolution" he said, "is the establishment of the NFF."

In fact, this front is the supreme formation of masses, social organisations and compatriots who are ready to serve the people."

Keshtmand noted that, during the one year since the establishment of the front, it is being welcomed by the broad strata of people. "Toilers of Afghanistan see that the-

ir representatives are doing real service for them. This front has become a prestigious and influential organisation in the society."

He said that the PDPA and Government, headed by Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the PDPA CC and President of the RC, attach great importance to the NFF. "Therefore, the NFF is mentioned with great deference and respect in all the documents of the countrywide PDPA conference. The real thing is that the NFF can be a link between the party, the state and the masses of the country."

"The PDPA has entrusted the best party cadres to be in the service of the comrades and one of the outstanding leadership members of the PDPA CC Politburo, Saleh Mohammad Zeary has been appointed the President of the NFF. This has made the value of the front of the party and the people distinguished",

Keshtmand pointed out.

He said: "The Government also attaches great value to your cooperation and readiness in your noble struggle and sees clearly how the enemies of Afghan people made the NFF one of its basic aims of attack and carry desperate propaganda against it, because they know that the NFF is a strong means to organise the unity of the people, the party and the Government and it has a bright future."

"We mention with great appreciation your services and cooperation and commemorate with great respect those of our dear brothers—the members of the NFF who were attacked bestially by the enemies of the people and martyred—and we are deeply sorrowful for them", Keshtmand said.

He specified the duties and responsibilities of the provincial NFF presidents to identify the real representatives of the people in provincial, district, and village 'jirgans.'

He added that "the daily increasing willingness of our patriotic people to join the front is the manifestation of its bright future. Of course, your honourable work, which you accomplish consciously and voluntarily through the NFF on the path of serving the people, is a matter of

pleasure of the party and the revolutionary Government of Afghanistan."

Speaking of the cooperation of the state with the front, Keshtmand said that the Government will "render cooperation and provide necessary facilities for your useful work and for the growth of evolution of the NFF and its related organisations for its influence and prestige."

Before Keshtmand's speech, Shafie introduced the presidents and secretaries of the provincial NFF committees to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and thanked him for receiving them despite preoccupation with the state affairs.

Khwaja Daod Shah Aini and Kwat Bridwal, presidents of the Parwan and Nangarhar provincial NFF committees, on others' behalf, expressed gratitude for the opportunity to meet the Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

They added: "We renew our pledge that we will expend all our might, energy and knowledge for serving the interests of the Afghan people under the leadership of the PDPA with Babrak Karmal at the head."

According to another report, the heads of the provincial NFF committees went to the mart-

ys' monument and laid floral wreaths there, yesterday afternoon.

At this ceremony, Arz Bigi, president of the Kunduz provincial NFF committee, on others' behalf, spoke on the "heroism of the militants of Saur Revolution, martyred for the defence of its gains and for the blossoming of the homeland and for the benefit of the toilers of the country."

He said: "By laying floral wreaths as the manifestation of the boundless gratitude of the heads of the provincial NFF committees for the righteous struggle of these devotees of the way of liberation, we once again renew our pledge that will expend all our might, energy and knowledge for the sacred path for which they sacrificed themselves, and will not return from the path we have chosen."

They visited also the weapons museum located in the Jasheen area yesterday morning.

They once again expressed their "hatred for the homicidal and terrorist bands who with assorted American, Chinese, Egyptian, Pakistani and other weapons shed the clean blood of women, old men, youth and innocent children under the directions of their imperialist bosses headed by the world-devouring imperialism."

SHIPPING FIGURES FOR PORTS, NEW BRIDGE ANNOUNCED

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 14 Jun 82 p 3

[Text]

"Over 400,000 tons of consignment were transferred and forwarded through three Afghan ports—the Hairatan, the Sherkhan and the Torghondi, during the last year", said Dr Shams Samadi president of the Afsotr transport and forwarding company in an interview with the Kabul New Times recently.

Dr Samadi said that the company, as in the previous years, in 1360 H.S. too, has played a meritorious role in on-time and quick forwarding and transport services for the transportation and foreign trade of the country.

To increase the volume of the transporting commodities between the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, the Afsotr, with other similar organisations, have planned and submitted specific proposals to both the DRA and the Soviet Union regarding this. Some suggestions have already been put into practice resulting in an increase in the volume of exchanged and forwarded commodities by the Afsotr and other trans-

port companies, and state and individual organisations to 1,200,000 tons at the three ports during the last year. Out of this, 0.8 million tons was dried fruits.

Last year, Afsotr, being a major forwarding and transport company in the country, played a greater role in increasing transport and forwarding of consignments inside and outside of the country. Since the very beginning of the formation of the company, it is the first time that the volume of transport and forward trade reached to 400,000 tons, shows a 25 per cent increase over that in 1359 H.S.

About 186,000 tons of goods were transported by the Afsotr company. It is also worth mentioning that, at the Hairatan and Sherkhan ports, 1,854 ships were unloaded while 1,519 were loaded and at the Torghondi port, 3,039 wagons were loaded and unloaded last year.

Dr Samadi added that 86 per cent of the foreign trade commodities pass via the Hairatan port, the exchange

of commodities in this port has shown a 42.3 per cent increase last year.

This increase has been caused by some necessary decisions taken by the Soviet Union in providing material and technical assistance to the Afghan ports. According to these decisions, the Soviet side has provided additional technical instruments such as cranes and other small mechanical instruments to the Afghan side. They have also assisted the Afghan side in building and repair of opercular godowns and open squares.

At present, the company possesses 406 trucks, and a contract on purchasing 100 more trucks was signed recently between the company and the Avto-export union of the Soviet Union, so that the number of trucks will soon reach to 506. Most of these trucks are of the Maz-504 type.

The Afsotr forwards and transports commodities of Government organisations and individuals on the basis of fixed international prices, according to the con-

tracts signed between this company and other forwarding and transport organisations it has tried and is trying to speedily and securely deliver the import goods from the country of origin to Afghanistan and the export commodities from the country to their last destination and facilitate the reception of goods by customers on easy term basis. The company receives transporting and forwarding payment after it delivers the goods to the borders of the countries concerned.

After the victory of the Saur Revolution, the counter-revolutionary forces and the elements attached to imperialism and reactionary circles have resorted to desperate efforts to materialise their ominous plans and to impede the development of economic life of the country. They, therefore very often attack transport caravans, setting fire to trucks, annoy the noble and patriotic drivers and cleaners, and pose numerous obstacles to transporting foodstuff and other necessities for the people and merchandise.

But, despite all these difficulties, our noble and patriotic transport staff, especially our drivers and cleaners have succeeded in transporting essential commodities and basic necessities of the people without very much delay.

Dr Samadi added: "mention should also be made on the cooperation of the Afsotr—the only Afghan-Soviet joint-venture transport and forwarding company of the country incorporated on the basis of scientific foundations—with other world

organisations. The company has established international links with important transport and forwarding and trading companies in the world and is collaborating with them in transporting commodities from Afghanistan and from other countries to Afghanistan. It has concluded contracts with over 30 internationally known companies in the Far East, the European countries and the Soviet Union".

To accelerate transportation and to avoid the Hairatan port being too crowded, the company has signed a contract with the Sovtransvto transport of the Soviet Union, and according to this contract, part of the export-import commodities reaching the Afghan ports in high capacity trailer trucks will be replaced with the trucks of the Afsotr, and go forward without unloading the goods loaded on the trailers avoiding waste of time. This has been considered "a very positive measure" in transportation. Last year, based on this method, 3,500 tons of fertilisers and 5,000 tons of raisins were transported by the trucks of the Sovtransvto company and 2,800 tons of sugar, soap and edible oil loaded on the trailer trucks of the Soviet company entered Afghanistan by exchanging only trucks at the borders.

Talking on the newly built Friendship Bridge over the Amu Darya (Oxus River) and its importance in transferring of commodities and further facilities for goods transportation, the president of the Afsotr said: "The ties between the DRA and

the Soviet Union has deep and fundamental roots and these friendly ties are firm and confident. Commissioning of the friendship bridge is another step taken towards the further consolidation of good-neighbourly relations between the DRA and the Soviet Union and is an outstanding example of this fraternal, real and friendly relations of the toiling peoples of the two countries".

Dr Samadi added that in his speech, Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the PDPA CC and President of the RC had said at the inauguration ceremony of the bridge: "...This bridge has not only joined the two banks of Amu River but also linked our hearts, the hearts of our peoples with a stronger bond".

In another part of his speech, Karmal had said: "The importance of the bridge over the Amu River is really great for the growth of our economy as a whole and the improvement of the system of commerce and transport. Our people consider the commissioning of the bridge as an important historical event in the life of Afghan people and we are witness to people's felicitations".

Dr Samadi added that the bridge has a paramount role in the path of economic growth and annihilation of backwardness in the country and has had a positive effect on transportation. "Hundreds of thousands of different commodities pass

over the bridge, help the stable growth of our national economy". The bridge would be a great help in accelerating considerably the speedy transportation of commodities' volume. And, the modern establishments at the Hairatan port will also have a great role to play in increasing the volume of transportation and in unloading wagons that enter Afghan territory. Thus, the share of the Afsotr will also be extraordinarily great and valuable in forwarding commodities which enter this country over the Friendship Bridge.

Speaking of the future development plans of the company, Dr Samadi said: "The number of our trucks will reach to 1,000 in the near future, and we hope this will help our company to speedily transport commodities. According to the envisaged plan, the volume of goods passage during the current Afghan year (1361), will be 221,000 tons. Technical centres 1 and 2 will be expanded, and these centres will take serious measures in loading and unloading the commodities of state organs and individuals. This will include measures to avoid trucks remaining idle, which not only causes economic losses for the company but decrease the volume of transportation in the country. The company will also build a number of accessories establishments in the capital, ports and the provinces which will be implemented according to the plan".

POLICE PERSONNEL, FACILITIES BEING EXPANDED

Police Officers Graduate

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 10 Jun 82 p 1

[Officiated by Dr Saleh Mohammad Zeary, member of Politburo]

[Text] KABUL, June 10 (Bakhtar).— Diplomas and gifts were distributed yesterday at a function to the graduates and instructors of the political and professional faculties and the officers course of the police academy of the Interior Ministry.

The function was attended by Dr Saleh Mohammad Zeary, Politburo member, Secretary of the PDPA CC and President of the National Committee of the NFF, Mohammad Aslam Watanjar, PDPA CC Politburo member and Communications Minister, Dr Najibullah, Politburo member, Dr Niaz Mohammad Momand, Secretary of the PDPA CC, some other CC members, and members of the Council of Ministers, some officers, party activists and staff of the police academy.

Dr Saleh Mohammad Zeary, on behalf of the Politburo and on behalf of Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the PDPA CC and President of the DRA RC, greeted the graduates and instructors on successfully completing their courses and wished them ever

greater successes.

He said, "The party, the state and the country entrust you with major tasks that determined and explained at the party's country-wide conference".

Speaking on the gains of the Saur Revolution, he said, "The victories scored by the party and the state, after the victory of the revolution, are not sufficient for peace, progress and development. The enemy is still desperately attempting to make use of dark nights and disrupt security. We must not allow the enemy to throw stones in the path of progress of the revolution. We have to secure the confidence of the masses and rally and organise them around the party and the state to construct and let our country flourish".

Dr Zeary identified the tasks and obligations of the police, particularly the graduates of the academy, during their contacts with people and said, "We must decisively act in implementing the duties assigned to us by the PDPA countrywide conference".

Sayed Mohammad Ghulabzoy, Interior Affairs Minister also spoke on the subject.

The ceremony began with the national anthem. The gathering was also addressed by Samoonwal Nazar Mohammad Nekzad, on behalf of the instructors of the academy, Sardar Mohammad and Samiullah, on behalf of the graduates and Sohaila, on behalf of the trade union of the Interior Ministry.

The commander of the academy renewed his pledge, on behalf of the academy staff, to devote all their talents and energy in the healthy training, education and upbringing of patriotic youth in a revolutionary spirit.

The gifts and diplomas were distributed by Dr Zeary.

A source of the academy said that 400 students from the political and professional faculties and officers course of the academy graduates this year.

Building for Police Command Opened

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 15 Jun 82 p 4

[Officiated by Chief of Central Zone Mir Saheb Karwal]

[Text]

KABUL, June 15 ((Bakhtar).—The new building of the police command of Kabul was opened by the general president (security) of the Interior Ministry on June 13. Mir Saheb Karwal, the Chief of the Central Zone and Dr Farooq, general president of the political affairs department of the ministry were present on the occasion. The building covers one jerib of land and costs five million Afghanis, provided by the ministry. The building was constructed to accommodate offices for the command and residential quarters for the soldiers. It has 14 rooms and other facilities.

CSO: 4600/589

OFFICIAL PRONOUNCEMENTS STRESS WOMEN'S DESIRE FOR PEACE

Women's Democratic Organization Meets

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 12 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Speech by Politburo member Dr Anahita Ratebzad]

[Text]

KABUL, June 12 (Bakhtar).— Mothers, wives and sisters of the martyrs of the Saur Revolution attended a massive meeting organised by the Central Council of the Women's Democratic Organisation of Afghanistan at Kabul Nandari on Thursday for the cause of disarmament.

The meeting began with the recitation of verses from the holy Koran. Then, Zainab Jabbar Khil, eldest member of the presidium, inaugurated the meeting, followed by the DRA national anthem.

Dr Anahita Ratebzad, member of the Politburo of the PDPA CC and President of the WDOA, in her inaugural speech, felicitated and greeted the participants for the "recent victories scored by your heroic sons against the enemies of the country and revolution."

Dr Ratebzad said: "We, like all the women of our planet and all the mothers of the world, are concerned

about the tense international situation, the danger that is threatening the world, that is, the danger of nuclear war. War threatens the whole humanity, men, women and children alike".

"Arms races are whipped up by the states seeking military supremacy which obtain large sums from increase in arms production", she said.

"The aggressive imperialist circles, at the top the US, increase and disseminate nuclear weapons and other means of mass massacre on an unprecedented scale", she added.

She noted: "All the people of the world take more active measures against nuclear war, millions of people stage meetings and marches and protest against the danger and threat of nuclear war. The slogan 'Let us unite for the sake of averting world nuclear war' resounds every where. Women, forming a half of

the world population, bear a great role in securing peace and eliminating the danger of the total annihilation of man".

She stressed: "We ought to be aware of this great responsibility and adopt a responsible approach towards the maintenance of peace".

"On behalf of all the mothers of Afghanistan, we have rallied here to call upon the participants of the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament to ask the leaders of all the states and Governments of the world to take practical and urgent measures for eliminating the arms race, removing the danger of the nuclear war, stopping the production of neutron weapons, putting an end to the installation of nuclear rockets in Europe as well as to the production and expansion of nuclear missiles. in all the continents the abo-

lition of all bases of nuclear missiles as also to denounce these means of the mass massacre as the greatest crime against humanity", Dr. Ratebzad declared.

The biographies of Zainab Jabbar Khil, Rahima, Asiya Shiwa, Khodija Keshwari, Anissa Omari, Homaira, Bibi Noor, Telabibi Adela Hedayat, Sara, Mahatab, Bibigul, Rahima and Alia, who have lost members of their families in the path of the revolution, were read out at the meeting.

Mohammad Aslam Watanjar, member of the Politburo of the PDPA CC and Communications Minister also read out the message of the PDPA CC on peace and disarmament, addressed to the meeting.

Dr Saleh Mohammad Zary, member of the Politburo and Secretary of the PDPA CC and President of the National Committee of the NFF, and some members of the party CC also attended the meeting.

A series of other messages from the Pioneers and the officers and soldiers to mothers, and the message of mothers to soldiers and officers were also read out.

Sara, on behalf of the mothers of revolution soldiers and Anisa Omari, on behalf of the women teachers, addressed the meeting.

In all these messages and speeches, hatred and repugnance was expressed against war.

The policy pursued by the party and revolutionary government was decisively supported.

The meeting adopted a message to the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament. The message has called for the disarmament and the elimination of arms race, and the stoppage of the shameless aggression of imperialism and its allies against revolutionary Afghanistan.

The meeting also adopted a protest letter condemning and denouncing the recent attacks of Israel on Lebanon.

The letter says: "On Jauza 15, 1361 (June 5, 1982) the Israeli government at the diktat of criminal US, unleashed a barbaric attack against the heroic people of Palestine and progressive forces of Lebanon. As a result of this criminal and bloody attack, so far hundreds of, innocent Palestinians and Lebanese have been martyred and thousands wounded and rendered homeless, inflicting fatal damages to numerous families".

"We share the sorrow and grief of mothers, wives, husbands and childrens of the martyred Palestinians and Lebanese and express indignation and hatred against bloody imperialists and Zionists", the message says.

It adds: "While expressing our active solidarity with our brother Palestinians and Lebanese, we believe that the unity of all anti-imperialist forces the world over is the only way of overcoming the enemies of peace and security".

At the end of the speeches, Dr Ratebzad, in a concluding speech, said: "Dear sisters and mothers and esteemed participants: A short while ago we signed an important document which is addressed to the Second Special Session of the UN on Disarmament. These signatures demonstrate the united and peaceful voice of those mothers and women who have lost their loved ones for the cause of prosperity and tranquility of humanity.— the powerful voice of those mothers who long for aversion of a threat of nuclear war, and who are for disarmament and prosperous life for all people and children all over the world and finally mothers and wives who want a cessation of the shameless aggression of imperialism and its accomplices against our revolutionary country and speedy restoration of peace, and national equality".

She added: "The mothers who give life to humanity raise their voice to save their sons, brothers and husbands from the threat and misery of war and they are for prosperity and happiness, not for war".

She affirmed "We will keep aloft the banner of those whose blood was shed for achieving their sacred aspiration and we vow to continue firmly on the path they have chosen".

The first part of the function ended with the playing of the national anthem.

At the end of the first part, the members of the

presidium laid wreaths on the monument of the martyrs of the revolution.

Other participants of the meeting visited an exhibition of photographs and posters on the theme of peace, world security and disarmament.

The second part of the meeting was marked by plays by children of the Nazo Kindergarten and Afghan Nendari artistes.

The meeting ended with a song by Radio-TV artistes and a play titled 'Role of women during the revolution'.

Message to United Nations

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 13 Jun 82 p 2

[Editorial: "DRA Women Raise Voice for Peace"]

[Text] Afghanistan is the victim of an undeclared war imposed by imperialism and its lackeys. This war has resulted in the martyrdom of a considerable number of militant youth who have shed their blood to safeguard the lofty objectives of the Saur Revolution and the long-cherished aspirations of the toiling masses in this country.

The Afghan people including the women who have never bowed to foreign aggression, have always stood for peace and they wish to live in peace and security with other peace-loving people of the world. The Afghan women have time and again raised their voice for world peace in international forums and inside the country.

Taking advantage of the opportunity to draw once more the world attention and specially the United

Nations to the crying need for world peace, the Afghan women held a massive meeting the other day during which they reiterated their support for the cause of disarmament. The meeting was attended by the mothers, wives and sisters of the martyrs of the Saur Revolution, a revolution whose objective is to fulfill the humane and long-cherished aspirations of the long suffering, toiling people in this country.

The participants of the meeting heard of the victories and achievements scored by the militant youth against the enemies of the homeland and the revolution. The women, who have made great sacrifices for the cause of the country, also expressed grave anxiety over the tense international situation and the danger that threatens the world—the danger of a nuclear war that threatens men, women and children alike.

The bereaved Afghan women, while demanding an end to the unbridled arms race whipped up by the states seeking military supremacy to meet their vile and vested interests, noted that the aggressive imperialist circles headed by the US are making persistent attempts to increase and disseminate nuclear weapons and other means of mass annihilation on an unprecedented scale.

In realisation of the women's role in safeguarding world peace, it was stressed at the meeting that "We Afghan women ought to be aware of this great responsibility and adopt a responsible approach towards maintenance of peace".

On behalf of all Afghan women, the participants at the meeting called upon those of the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament to "ask leaders of all the

states and Governments of the world to take practical and urgent measures for eliminating the arms race, removing the danger of the nuclear war, stopping the production of neutron weapons, refraining from installation of nuclear rockets in Europe as well as production and expansion of nuclear missiles in all continents, abolition of all bases of nuclear missiles as also denouncing these means of the mass annihilation as the greatest crime against humanity."

In a message to the participants in the UN General Assembly Special Session, the mothers, wives and sisters of the Saur Revolution's martyrs also blasted the imperialist war unleashed against the peace-loving people of Afghanistan.

The message, in part says: "We, the mothers and wives of the martyrs of the Saur Revolution, are the victims of the undeclared war waged against the people of Afghanistan by

imperialism, headed by the US imperialism, in the past three years. As a result of this dreadful undeclared war, thousand of our countrymen including innocent children, men and women, have lost their lives".

While demanding the disarmament, the message also calls for cessation of all kinds of war.

The militant and brave Afghan women, who are determined to safeguard the independence, the national unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their homeland by taking active part in the just struggle of the national revolution, raise their voice for peace at the very moment when the possibility of a nuclear holocaust threatens the very existence of the human society, in order to save their sons, brothers and husbands. They are as their natural inclination dictates, for prosperity and happiness of their sons and beloved ones, and not for war and destruction.

ECONOMIC INITIATIVES HIGHLIGHTED

New Bakery in Kabul

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 12 Jun 82 p 2

[Text]

Mohammad Yaqob, president of the silo's procurement department, talking about the activities of silos, told the Heywad that, after new and evolutionary phase of the Saur Revolution, the new bakery with a production capacity of 72 tons in 24 hours was set up in 1360 H.S. and for the first time put at the people's disposal the round current bread.

The bakery with 480 workers started its initial function. The Central Silo has two wheat mills which provide 200 tons of flour in 24 hours. Some of this flour is used for making bread in the silo and the rest sent for the use of the Armed Forces, the Police and the Government departments.

Some of this flour is also distributed among the coupon-holding employees and to the Kabul private bakeries. It should be mentioned

that, after the revolution, 50,000 coupons are provided for the Government officers and wage-earners, which is a remarkable number.

Before the Saur Revolution less than eight seers flour was distributed among the married wage-earners. After the victory of the revolution, this inequality was wiped out and everybody gets the same amount.

The total number of workers of the Central Silo is 1,500, besides 204 employees and 92 wage-earners. To perform their task better, it is considered that the old bakery which started functioning about 28 years ago must be reconstructed the final decision on this will be taken in the near future, according to Yaqob.

With the reconstruction of the silo the needs of the Armed Forces and the police of provinces will

be fully met. The construction of Balkh silo and the mill factory of Pule Khomri city will be completed in the near future.

According to the requirements of the people, a wheat godown with the storing capacity of 20,000 tons wheat and a mill with a production capacity of 60 tons of flour in 24 hours and another factory with a capacity of 25 tons in 24 hours, along with other accessories and with technical and modern facilities, and a mill factory in Pule Khomri will start functioning in the near future.

The storing capacity of wheat in the silos of the Balkh and Baghlan provinces will increase from 20,000 to 40,000 tons.

The Central Silo, "from the beginning until now, is at the service of the people and it strives to provide the needs of the people with improved quality of the product", Yaqob said.

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 12 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Sayed Murtaza]

[Text]

Developing nations are today suffering from very low per capita real income and lower standards of living. Moreover, the majority of these nations, especially land-locked countries, are faced with various types of problems such as transit trade, balance of payment deficits, imbalance in international trade and the existence of inequality and unfairness in national wealth and income distribution, land property, etc.

Afghanistan, as a developing country, has decided to attempt to mitigate its socio-economic problems. Afghanistan, after market studies in different countries, especially of the European markets, has begun trade in East European countries (barter areas) and in free trade areas with Western European countries. Yet, Afghanistan still needs to study and apprise the possibility of increasing trade with some other countries in order to make practical recommendation as to how an increase in trade could be achieved in each of these countries.

This requires study of the structure and the operations of market control in those countries. After finding foreign partners, the possibility for the establishment of more national insurance companies inside and outside of the country has also to be explored. Likewise, it is necessary to co-

llect information on the structure and the operations of the Chambers of Commerce in other countries, and to use this information as the basis for proposals to be made regarding the recognition of the Chambers of Commerce in Afghanistan.

The result of these conclusions would be reports on both the extent and the nature of foreign markets.

The markets for Afghan goods, in European countries, are sufficiently large to absorb all the goods that will be available for export from Afghanistan. These include products other than fresh fruits and certain special products such as pistachios, and medicinal herbs, for which there is already a very high demand. All of these goods will be available for export during the period of this Five Year Plan. Subject to two conditions, very large quantities of Afghan goods can be sold in European countries, including other parts of the world, at profitable prices and for convertible currencies.

These conditions are:

- (a) standards of quality and packing
- (b) transportation rates and facilities at reasonable terms.

In the opinion of some specialists, these conditions may be met if proper steps are taken by both the Afghan Government and by the merchants engaged in export trade.

It has also been stated that Afghanistan's export trade with European countries can be profitably expanded through modern standards applied to all shipments. As well, modern methods of grading, cleaning, inspection and packing must be adopted for all types of goods sent to foreign markets.

These conditions are exemplified for some Afghan merchandise such as karakul skins and superior quality carpets which already meet the required quality in the world markets.

The basic superior qualities of Afghan goods are recognised by European users of export items. This applies especially to dried fruits, cotton, wool and car-

pets and recent experiences with many shipments have been satisfactory. Now raisins are also well cleaned, and they are properly packed to be acceptable in these markets. All nuts are shelled before they are shipped to Europe. Certain cotton consignments have been properly graded. Wool now meets the competitive market values.

Among many Afghan goods, raisins continuously attract the European market. Therefore, there is now scope for introducing Afghan raisins to Far Eastern markets such as in Japan, Hongkong and Singapore, where the prices may be more stable.

The Ministry of Commerce of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has prepared, through a development programme in the existing Five Year Plan, for this and has already sent to the State Planning Committee a proposal that covers most of the projects which are mentioned above.

These projects have been made by experts engaged by the Ministry of Commerce. In general, the findings of the trade markets emphasise the rapidly growing trade from Afghanistan.

Separate Boards for each item of export can deal with all Afghan exports under the control of the Chamber of Commerce of Afghanistan.

Increased Insurance Services

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 13 Jun 82 p 3

[Text]

The Afghan National Insurance Company has paid over Afs 15,600,000 to its clients last year to compensate the damages to their properties, an ANIC source told the Kabul New Times.

The ANIC was established in 1343 H. S. under the name of the Afghan Jointstock Insurance Company to provide insurance services, and to prevent the foreign middlemen from interfering in the insurance affairs and the flow of the hard currency to abroad.

Since its establishment, the company has been carrying out services in commodities, vehicles, fire and marine insurance and other

services for the countrymen and the foreigners residing in Afghanistan.

At the beginning, the company faced the shortage of experienced personnel, but, gradually the problem was overcome. After the new phase of the Saur Revolution, a number of insurance officials were sent abroad to be trained to meet the demand of the company for professional cadres.

In 1358 H.S., the partnership stocks of the company were purchased and it was renamed as Afghan National Insurance Company. According to the new insurance law, simultaneously its capital was promoted to Afs 75 million from the original Afs 15 million.

The company paid Afs 23,444 for damages to the commodities of two merchants and Afs 81,629 for the Afghan Textile Company. A sum of Afs 133,231 was paid for three other merchants for leakage of motor oil and burning of 12 bales of second hand clothings, Afs 43,040 for breakage of glasses for the Afghan CART in Hamal and Saur last Afghan year.

The damages paid for by the ANIC claims department amounts to Afs 13,444,377, which include damages suffered by tea and edible oil consignments imports by the food procurement department and others.

It has also paid \$28,263.29

as damages to the Ariana Afghan Airlines and the Bakhtar Airlines last year, the source said.

Fortunately, there were very fewer fire accidents last year. The company paid Afs 29,992 as damage for such accidents. The company paid over Afs 1.5 million for accidents and vehicular damages last year.

To expand its activities, the NIC has published a number of posters and carried out propaganda activities, conducting direct negotiations with the merchants and owners of markets and mercantile and industrial estates.

Likewise, the draft regulation on compulsory vehicle insurance was prepared in 1360 H.S. and is expected to be enforced after its approval by the Council of Ministers.

A glance at the 1359 H.S. balance-sheet of the company shows a total net profit of Afs 31.7 million which shows a 565.9 per cent increase compared to 1358.

The company plans further insurance services including insurance services for the workers and fire insurance of the small industrial institutions and other high-income enterprises and institutions such as cinemas, according to the source.

Wool Exports Pushed

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 14 Jun 82 p 3

[Text]

A total of 1,107 tons wool, worth approximately Afs 129,731,346, has been sold to the Soviet Vestog-Intorg Company by the wool enterprise of Afghanistan.

This records a profit of Afs 16,283,739, Dr Mohammad Zahir Barez, president-general of the wool enterprise told the Kabul New Times reporter in an interview.

Based on the protocol concluded between the wool enterprise and the Soviet company in 1981, a total of 3,450 tons of wool was exported by both the state and the private sector.

On the basis of sub-contracts concluded between Afghan merchants, the wool exporting companies and the Vestog-Intorg com-

pany, 10,108 tons of more wool will also be exported. The service charges from the merchants and exporting companies will amount to Afs 59,011,574.

Barez said that the wool enterprise, among the profit-making state sectors concentrates its activities for promotion of wool export, strengthening the financial status of the producers, livestock-breeders and marketing and market research for export and regulating the wool trading activities.

It tries utmost to provide further facilities for the livestock owners. The market research for export of wool to other countries is with the cooperation of the ex-

port promotion department of the Commerce Ministry. For this purpose, a delegation comprising both the state and private sector is due to travel for marketing of the Afghan wool to India, Nepal, Hong Kong, Singapore and Japan with the cooperation of the International Trade Centre (ITC).

While speaking on the wool export last year, Barez said that a total of 6,000 tons of wool was envisaged for export in 1360 H.S. and on the basis of a contract 3,450 tons was already exported. Since the products of wool was high compared to 1359 H.S. therefore, talks were held with the Vestog-Intorg company. Consequently the export of wool was promoted to 10,500 tons by both the state and private sector and the export price of wool was also raised 20 per cent.

To better regulate the affairs of the enterprise, with due consideration for decree no. 937 (dated Assad 20, 1359 H.S.) of the DRA Council of Ministers, to improve the work quality and prevent unnecessary organisational expenditures, the proposal for merger of the Kandahar wool washing factory to the wool enterprise department was

endorsed by the executive committee of the Council of Ministers late 1360 H.S.

Dr Barez said that although wool is obtained from Ghazni and Uruzgan provinces, and from Moqur, Nawzad and Chakhansour districts, the two major production and purchase centres of wool are Kandahar and Herat. The enterprise purchased 1,464 tons wool worth Afs 113,447,607

Speaking on the cooperation of the enterprise with the wool producers, he said that the enterprise deserves to sell wool according to the international market price and for this purpose, regularly carries out market research.

With due consideration for further development of wool export, attempts have been made, so that in addition to the friendly Soviet Union, other markets should be sought for promotion of wool export.

The enterprise has requested the ITC to assist it in training professional personnel for sorting and packing of the Afghan wool as well as publication of catalogues and pamphlets on the quality of the Afghan wool and for sending it to the importing countries as well as supply of wool washing plants for the branch offices of the enterprise in Kandahar, Herat, Balkh and Kunduz.

OPERATION OF MANAGEMENT INSTITUTE DESCRIBED

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 9 Jun 82 p 2

[Text]

Development of education is an important factor for economic and social development of Afghanistan. The shortage of skilled managers is felt to be one of the reasons for the overall low productivity and inefficiency in the country. An important role in removing this shortcoming is being played today by the Institute of Accountancy and Administration.

This institution, earlier named the Institute of Industrial Management, was established in 1960 as a first step to create an opportunity for higher education and to train managerial staff in order to serve in the industries and introduce changes and innovations in the management of the industries. But the utility of this institution was not so high, then, since it was training cadres for industries which rarely existed. The industries in fact were few and pace of industrialisation was too slow to be taken into account.

The students of industrial management, in addition to academic education, undergo an on-the-job training.

In view of the rapid pace of industrialisation envisaged by the current plans of the revolutionary Government and the consequently great and urgent demand for highly skilled administrators, industrial managers and accountants, certain changes have been brought recently to curricula of the institute and went into effect in the beginning of the school year 1980.

The revised curricula have made an attempt to cut the previous three-year training duration by one year without having any negative effect on the quality of education. Moreover, it enables the institute to graduate the foregoing stated skilled personnels in a relatively shorter period of time.

In 1971, a department for secretarial training and business administration was added to the institute of Industrial Management. This new department aimed at educating skilled personnel to meet the needs of business and banking sections and to substitute foreign personnel to the maximum possible extent.

Later, an Accounting Institute was also founded separately in 1976. The major aim of this was to train professional accountants to meet the needs of the financial and accounting departments of the state and private sector.

In order to regulate its curriculum in a better and more efficient way, this was also merged with the Institute of Industrial Management and the name of the unified institution was changed to the Institute of Accountancy and Administration after the victory of the glorious Saur Revolution.

At present, the Institute of Accountancy and Administration operates under the vocational education department of the Higher and Vocational Education Ministry. It trains skilled cadres in three separate fields: industrial management, secretarial skills and business administration and accounting.

The curricula of the accountancy department comprise commercial banking, industrial and state accounting, economic mathem-

atics, budget and finance, statistics, economics and bookkeeping. Law, public administration, typing and the English language are included as supplemented subjects. The highest consideration is given to the state accounting and economic mathematics.

The graduates of this department are usually employed by the Ministry of Finance and Banks. The students of Industrial Management Department are taught accounting, economic mathematics, law, administration, economics, statistics, banking, technology, bookkeeping, geography and typing. The graduates of this department are usually absorbed by the departments under the Ministry of Mines and Industries and industrial establishments in state and private sector.

The graduates of the secretarial department are employed by the state organs, Aryana Airlines Company, Afghan Insurance Company, Afghan Cart, banks and other enterprises. Attention is focussed on the national and foreign languages and typing Dari and English in this department. The subjects being taught are the English, Pushto, and Dari languages, shorthand, office procedures, commercial correspondence, accounting, typing and some economics. The

total enrollment at the Institute of Accountancy and Administration comes to over 600 students right now.

A total of over 1,000 students have graduated so far from this institute specialising in one of the three disciplines mentioned. The graduates of the institute are meeting the great need which exists for skilled managerial and accounting cadres.

A survey carried out recently by the institute indicated that the employing organisations are highly satisfied with the performance of the graduates of this institute.

The institute has over 30 qualified instructors teaching in their field of specialisation.

The prospects for the graduates of this institute are very bright. On the basis of the current year's development plan, over 63 new industrial projects are scheduled to start functioning in the DRA.

The Programme of Action adopted by the recently concluded countrywide conference of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan has given special attention to the further development of the industrial base as a foundation for economic development.

The implementation of the industrial projects as envisaged in the programme of Action will considerably increase the demand for highly qualified and skilled managers.

WORKER SEEKS WAY OUT OF 'BACKWARDNESS'

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 10 Jun 82 p 3

[Text]

"The workers of revolutionary Afghanistan are faced with the historical responsibility to double their efforts for removing the backwardness of their country and are preparing the ground for speeding up the building of new life for themselves and all others in the country", Abdul Baseer Bamizai, a talented worker of the linotype section of the Government Printing Press told Kabul New Times recently.

"After the victory of the Saur Revolution, especially its new evolutionary phase, the workers and toilers of our country are witness to many fundamental and basic changes and development in their working and living conditions. These steps of our revolutionary state have had great impact on the life of the workers and have been most instrumental in bettering the life of the workers".

Bamizai who has spent over twenty years of his life as a worker at the GPP and has earned useful experience in his career here.

He is satisfied with his work because he is earning enough to meet his expenses.

Bamizai said that now the workers are satisfied with their working condition, "because in quite a short time our revolutionary Government was able to not only relieve us from the clutches of oppression and internal reaction, but a number of privileges and fringe benefits were also given to us". Among these were free transportation from home to the place of work and back, increase in the amount of wheat flour and other essential food stuffs, increase of salary for workers, betterment of working and living conditions, increase in the lunch food allowance, ever increasing encouragement to workers for the purpose of boosting production, especially to those taking active part in production and showing new initiatives towards this end.

Bamizai noted that this year, for the first time, the workers of the GPP were encouraged in cash

and kind, as well as through Letters of Merit for their active part in the work emulation drive, as a result of which, the press had surpassed its target production plan. "This is a clear indication of our revolutionary Government's sincere attention towards the betterment of living and working condition of our toiling masses".

Asked to talk about the most memorable event in his life Bamizai said. "The sweetest memory of my life was when the Saur Revolution, especially the new phase triumphed in the country. This development, in fact, for the first time relieved the workers and toiling masses of the country from the oppression of ruling despots and built in its place, the base of a progressive order in the country. Now, the workers have realised the real essence of their popular state.

The Government of the DRA has sincerely tried to find ways and means to raise the level of life of the people, especially the working peo-

ple in the country".

In response to another question, he said that it was time that the patriotic workers of the country, with understanding and consciousness of the prevailing conditions in the country, took the first steps to strengthen and consolidate their ranks and, unitedly tried to double their efforts for the elimination of the numerous enemies of the revolution, the people and the country and began preparing the ground for the smooth implementation of the beneficial plans of their popular state, aimed at the betterment of working and living condition of the general masses in the DRA. "We are sure that these sincere efforts of our popular state and our working masses will finally prove fruitful and the new society, which will be free of all kinds of discrimination, will be built in the glorious land of this country. Since our people's struggle is right, therefore, victory is ours".

Bamizai, who is an active worker of the GPP is married and has four children.

MORE AIDS PROVIDED FOR TEACHING AFGHAN LANGUAGES

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 15 Jun 82 p 3

[Text]

The compilation and translation department of the Education Ministry, from its establishment in 1331 H.S., (1962) has worked as an enterprise and supplier of textbooks and teaching aid materials for most educational institutions in the country.

The department compiled, printed and distributed 1307 items of text-books and teaching aid materials until the end of Saur 1361.

"Out of this 135 items of text-books, new teaching methods, teachers' guide-books and other such aid material in different languages like Pashto, Dari, Uzbeki, Baluchi and Turkmani, were compiled and distributed after the Saur Revolution", the president of the department told Kabul New Times in an interview recently.

Studies, research and compilation of text-books and teaching aid materials, and their distribution to the schools of the capital and provinces of the country, preparation of progressive teaching curriculum, pub-

lication of academic journals and geographical bulletins, cooperation and participation in seminars for teachers' education, preparation of educational programmes for the DRA Radio-TV, assessment and supervision of textbooks teaching and providing new teaching methods, constitute the major duties and responsibilities of this department, the president

He pointed out that after the Saur Revolution, especially its new and evolutionary phase, this institute reviewed the educational curriculum programme of the schools in the country and changed the provisions and contents of the textbooks, from the class-based old education system to the progressive and revolutionary system, which meets with the requirements of the people of this society and the development and prosperity of today's world.

The department is mostly engaged in compilation of textbooks, teaching aid materials, teachers' guide books while it does relatively small amount of tra-

translation of textbooks in Turkmani, Uzbeki and Baluchi languages.

The compilation and translation works of the department are carried out by university degree holders. They are the scientific and permanent members of the department. These people are divided, according to their professions, into 17 different scientific sections of the department. Foreign Advisers provide expertise in the natural and social sciences subjects.

After being printed and distributed, the contents of the textbooks, teachers' guide books and teaching aid materials are evaluated in practice, in one of the experimental schools or classes, for the period of a semester, or for a whole academic year by teachers, school masters, supervisors and advisors.

According to the plan of the pedagogic centre of the ministry, the assessment of all teaching materials of the department will be carried out by the research office of the Ministry

later.

In addition to the local experts and authors, advisers from the friendly countries are also cooperating on the development of education curriculum in special subjects. These local and foreign experts always discuss matters scientifically and professionally and fulfill their duties.

Scientific works of the department are carried out by the permanent members as a part of their official assignment. They also receive additional payments (a doctor receives Afs 1,000, a master Afs 800 and a BA degree holder Afs 500) as cadres' fee.

The most important work, accomplished by the department till now, is the preparation of the programmes and new educational curriculums which were done after the Saur Revolution, in accordance with the material and mental needs of this society. Compilation and translation works are continuing with this objective in mind, the president of the department said.

NEW MOSQUE DEDICATED IN BUTKHAK

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 12 Jun 82 p 4

[Text]

KABUL June 12 (Bakhtar).— In honour of the anniversary of the establishment of the National Fatherland Front, the cornerstone of the congregational mosque of Butkhak was laid by Mawlawi Naseruddin yesterday.

Hundreds of the members of the farmers' cooperatives of Bagrami and of the rural development project of the district took part in voluntary work organised by the farmers' cooperatives' union.

The incharge of the party organisational committee of the district and the president of the union spoke on the importance of the objectives of the party and the NFF.

The members of the farmers' cooperative of the Shina village and Butkhak, in a collective work project, repaired and macadamised five kms of the village road.

Similarly, to welcome the NFF anniversary, DYOA members undertook some voluntary work in some Government departments yesterday.

The work carried out in the Afghan Construction Unit, the Clemd Enterprise, the Puli Charkhi Wo-

olen Mill, and the seventh and tenth districts from 8 a.m. to 12 noon, the Government saved a large sum of money.

On the same occasion, thousands of members of the trade unions, employees of the Government departments and factories of Mazare Sharif, under the sponsorship of the provincial NFF council and with the cooperation of the provincial council of trade unions of Balkh, voluntarily took active part in productive and constructive affairs of the technical and administrative departments from 8 a.m. to 12 noon.

Mohammad Yaseen Sadeqi, general president of the department of the local organs of state power, accompanied by the Governor of Balkh and the president of the thermo-power plants, also took part in the work.

Thousands of workers and employees of the central departments and the productive departments of the Nangarhar, Ghazni, Paktika, Kunduz and Bamian provinces performed voluntary work yesterday.

Through this, the Government saved a large sum of money.

ACTIVITIES OF HIGHER, VOCATIONAL EDUCATION REVIEWED

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 9-14 Jun

[9 Jun 82 p 2]

[Text] Part I

In addition to the departments of education, compilation and translation, planning, foreign relations and administration, the Higher and Vocational Education Ministry has the following educational establishments under it:

- 1—The Kabul University,
- 2—The Polytechnic Institute.
- 3—The Nangarhar University.
- 4—The Department of Vocational Studies.

The last year's academic year began on Dalwa 15, 1359 (February 4, 1981) and continued up to the end of Jaddi, 1360 (20th January 1982).

With the aim of better management of the distribution of school graduates among the institutions of higher and vocational education, in response to the proposal made by the department of education of the Ministry of Higher and Vocational Education, a commission comprising representatives of the Ministries

of Education, Public Health, and Communications, representatives of the department of labour and social security, local organisation, and representatives of the Central Committee of the PDPA was formed under the Chairmanship of the Deputy Minister of Higher and Vocational Education. The commission had the duty to undertake work pertaining to the entrance of new students in the higher educational institutions such as the arrangement of entrance examinations, evaluation of the results of examinations, distribution of students to the institutions of higher and vocational education and universities.

For the academic year 1360 (1981-82), 10,169 graduates of secondary schools volunteered to take university entrance examination. This figure included 8,628 graduates from the Kabul city schools and 1,541 graduates from the provinces — 3,483 of them were girls.

With the aim of main-

taining the scientific, research and teaching process in the institutions of higher education, the department of education performed more fruitful activities in the year 1360 than in the preceding year.

Greater numbers of text books and supplementary books required by students of higher institutions and other educational and cultural establishments of the country were printed and published.

The magazine, "Afghan Students", was printed last year in better size and design and contained valuable materials, in which great interest was shown especially by the Afghan students abroad.

In addition to its routine printing activities, this department has also printed cards, tables, office books forms etc. as requested by different customers, taking advantage of the free hours of the machines. This brought considerable income.

BOOKS, MAGAZINES

The activities of the de-

partment of compilation and translation are briefly given below:

1. The number of books printed in Dari language: 11,500 volumes.

2. The number of books printed in Pashto language: 13,000 volumes.

3. The number of magazines of "Afghan Students": 8,900 volumes.

4. The number of invitation cards, visit cards, greeting cards etc: 48,811.

5. Stationaries such as letter heads, tables, account sheets etc: 1,454,917 sheets, administrative books, trade accountance forms and the like: 10,702 volumes.

6. Official envelopes with letterheads: 259,650.

Revenue of Afs 1,971,123 has been netted up to the end of Dalwa 1360 (February 19, 1982) from the printing of these materials.

As for the development budget of the ministry, the following activities have been carried out:

1—The development budget of Afs 104,000,000 for the year 1361 (March 21,

1982—March 20, 1983) has been prepared from the state Budget.

2. Projection of the indices and programmes of the development project works for the year 1361 (March 21, 1982—March 20, 1983).

3. Allocation of Afs. 95,499,218 from the development Budget of the year 1360 for the construction projects of that ministry, such as the project of the Institute of Chemistry, classrooms of the Kabul University, the first and second blocks of residential apartments for the teachers of the Kabul University, the sixth block of the dormitory of Polytechnic, the project of the agricultural schools of Balkh and Nangarhar, the project of reconstruction and equipment of the secondary technical school and, among others, allocation of Afs. 30,597,027 for the provision of building materials and equipments for the project of central dormitories for the Kabul University.

4. Inspection, evaluation and arrangement of the percentage of work done on the development projects on the basis of information and reports prepared by the project officers and their submission to the State Planning Committee for the release of the allocated budgets.

5. Budget allocation for the second residential blocs for teachers of the Kabul University with 18 apartments of three rooms each in the framework of the development plan of 1360. Separate protocols were concluded with the department of city and construction projects for the preparation of plans, blueprints and their supervision, and with the Banai Construction Unit for their building work. Moreover, the amount of Afs 7 million have been obtained from the contingent development Budget to commence the building work of that project.

6. Collecting the plans of a number of projects and arranging them in the form of a collection.

7. Conclusion of a protocol of construction work of the project of the sixth block of dormitories of the Polytechnic Institute with the Afghan Construction Unit, Kabul, with the help of the Soviet Union.

8. Laying the foundation-stone and commencement of the construction work of the first block of residential apartments of the Kabul University professors and the Agricultural School of Balkh.

9. Supervision and execution of the task of completing equipments for the project of the Institute of Chemistry.

10. Obtaining foreign aid and utilising them in the development projects and other institutions related to this Ministry. As an example, mention is made of the credit of sum of 976,156 roubles from the Soviet Union for the project of the agriculture schools.

Other examples are the credited aid of 1,367,547 roubles by the Soviet Union to the project of the reconstruction and equipment of the Technical School, equipment of the Laboratory of the Institute of Chemistry from the gratis aid of the Soviet Union, the 7,000-dollar aid by the UNESCO for convening a seminar on transformation and extension of suitable technology (the seminar was held some time ago). Similarly the 10,000 dollar aid of the UNESCO for starting training courses for engineers and technicians

and finally the submission of proposals, on a number of projects under the regular programme to the UNESCO.

REQUEST

In addition to this, request was made for help from the German Democratic Republic and the Socialist Republic of Libya through the State Planning Committee for equipping the Institute of Chemistry.

11. Preparation of the draft plan of higher and vocational studies for 1361 H.S.

12. Preparation of the plan of manpower including teachers and professors, officials and other employees of the ministry in the capital and the provinces.

13. Taking a general census of the students of Kabul University faculties, Nangarhar university, Polytechnic Institute and vocational schools including the night schools, projections for the programme of mastership in the Polytechnic Institute, as well as a census of professors and teachers, officials and employees and their degree of education, their academic ranks, state ranks, their sex, with their details in the related forms of the State Planning Committee.

For better organisation of academic and educational and research work and improvement of political and training work among the students, the academic council of the University, the academic council of the fa-

culties, the publication board of the university, the central council for scientific research, the council of libraries and the central council of social activities of the university, have been established. In the framework of the Central Council of social activities, the cultural council, the council for learning, publicity and propagation, the council for discipline and order and the council for the dormitories have also been created for all these council's guidance, job descriptions and method of working have been prepared according to which actions will be taken after they have passed through legal channels.

The creation of night colleges and the Institute of Workers' Preparatory Education as well as the departments of agrology, agro-chemistry, irrigation and plant protection in the faculty of agriculture, the departments of philosophy, archaeology and humanities in the faculty of social sciences, the departments of music and dramatic arts in the faculty of letters and languages is one of the important and revolutionary measures taken by the university. The plans and educational programmes of these departments were prepared and began functioning in accordance with the projected plan in the academic year 1359-1360.

NIGHT COLLEGES

It was planned to take 500 students in the night colleges and 200 students in the institute of Worker's Preparatory Education, but instead 288 students were taken through the entrance examination in the night colleges and a lesser number in the institute. In the beginning of that academic year, 2,028 students were enrolled in the different faculties of the Kabul University after taking entrance examinations and 309 students without them. The total number of enrolled students including those in the night colleges and the institute reached 2,842.

The total number of local teachers and professors in the Kabul University is 472. In addition to this, to meet the academic requirements of the university, 44 professors and five translators from the Soviet Union, six professors from the German Democratic Republic, two professors from Cuba and seven experts from the UN have been cooperating in different faculties in accord with the cultural and scientific cooperation of the friendly countries and international organisations.

It must be mentioned that the academic situation was satisfactory in the university in the academic year 1359—60 and the process of teaching commenced and ended normally according to the plan. The academic order and discipline and the students' attendance have been evaluated as better than in the academic year 1358—59 and the technique

as a whole has been of a better quality.

The new educational plan, according to the decision of consultative body of the ministry dated Hoot 7, 1359 (February 26, 1982), has been applied in all the faculties of the Kabul University. The process of its completion and preparation of new programmes continued in the course of the year.

If we compare the teaching process of the academic year 1359—1360 (1980—81) with the preceding academic year i.e. 1358—1359 (1979—1980), we can see that the attendance and success of the students in the university had been much improved.

In the course of the year, guiding teachers and group leaders of the classes have been appointed in all the faculties and political and educational work as well as work to solve questions related to academic order and discipline had been strengthened. The process of teaching continued normally with positive results.

The process of teaching in the night colleges and the Institute of Workers' Preparatory Education was also very good. The establishment and activation of these institutions is yet another wide and revolutionary stride toward the preparation of grounds of higher education for the sons of our noble and toiling compatriots.

In the academic year 1359—1360, a total number of 1,168 students graduated from the different faculties of the Kabul Univer-

sity.

The work of methodical teaching of the new educational syllabus which were earlier prepared by the Kabul University with the cooperation of professors of the related faculties, and adopted in the meeting of Hoot 7, 1360 of the consultative body of the ministry, has been applied in all the faculties during the past academic year. The master's degree programme in Dari and Pashto languages and literatures was revived and the teaching plans were prepared.

The subjects of social sciences in the university, such as the modern history of Afghanistan, scientific sociology and political economy have been taught by authorised local and foreign professors in all the faculties.

During the past academic year, 90 books and supplements and scientific works and over 150 notes and lectures in various branches of science have been compiled, translated and prepared by authorised local and foreign professors in the Kabul University.

In addition, during the past academic year, the magazines of Natural Sciences and social sciences of the Kabul University were published and distributed in thousands of copies.

With a view to further developing the scope of knowledge and learning and strengthening the university libraries, steps were taken for wide utilisation of books, magazines and other local and foreign publications by the students and teachers. In addition to the

central library, special libraries have been revived or newly established. Thousands of textbooks as well as scientific and technical books in various branches of science and knowledge, which were offered by the scientific and educational organisations of the friendly countries, especially the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic to the Kabul University, have been shelved in the general library of the university as well as the libraries of every separate faculty.

In addition to other books, over 3,500 monographs of the graduated students and scientific and research papers of the professors of the Kabul University have been shelved in the library.

NEW DEPARTMENT

A new department for the scientific books and works in Russian language has been established in the library which presently has 4,500 books on various subjects and a great number of teachers, scholars and students make use of them everyday. The audiovisual section of the library is also active and everyday a num-

ber of educational and professional films are screened for the students. This section cooperates with the educational and training programmes of the radio and television of the DRA allsidedly throughout the year.

The work to equip laboratories, the farms and educational and research clinics was normal last year and the utmost use was made of them in process of teaching.

In the course of the past academic year, 24 scientific projects in various branches were researched and evaluated by the professors and scientific researchers of the Kabul University at the Centre of Scientific research of the University and faculties. The reports of most of these research work have been published.

The experienced professors of the university have also cooperated all-sidedly with the ministries, the Academy of Sciences of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and other institutes through the Centre of Scientific research of the University and have rendered help to them in solving their present problems.

For example, the Centre of Scientific Research, apart from its regular projects, took active part in the projects of "New world economic system" and "Transition and promotion of suitable technology". Similarly the Consultative Centre of the faculty of engineering has rendered help and cooperation to all the state and non-state organisations in engineering work. Sixtyfive different tests of engineering materials such as the concrete blocks, production of iron rods, repair of the machines' spare parts, test of soil, repair of electric motors etc. were made in the soil-testing laboratory and mechanical shops of this faculty.

In the parasitological laboratory of the faculty of pharmacy, 980 patients have been checked for the intestine parasite and other diseases.

In the animal clinic of the faculty of veterinary sciences in Darul Aman, over 1,866 animals were diagnosed and treated or preventive medicine was applied on them.

SEMINARS

During the past year 48 conferences and more than 25 seminars on subjects of science and methods in different subjects were

held in the auditorium and general library of the university as well as in the conference halls of the faculties with the participation of the Kabul University professors and foreign scholars and scientists.

In this connection, during the past academic year, at the invitation of Kabul University Professor Markov, member of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union, Dr. Yotmyre, from the Berlin University of the German Democratic Republic, and a well-versed linguist from France, and a scholar from the People's Republic of Mongolia addressed scientific conferences, spoke in the seminars held and participated in them.

Measures have also been taken to provide grounds, on the basis of a five-year plan, for higher studies and expansion of the knowledge of the academic cadres of the faculties outside the country.

According to the plan, 52 professors were nominated for studies in the Soviet Union, but only 16 of them went abroad for higher studies.

The academic council of the university deliberated and evaluated as posi-

tive the cases of 67 academic promotions. Similarly this council evaluated the academic promotion of the teachers of the Nangarhar University and the State Institute of Medicine during the past academic year and evaluated them as satisfactory.

In the Kabul University, all necessary facilities are provided for the convocation of conferences, seminars, lectures, meetings and other group activities such as arts, sports, paintings, sculpture and other activities by the cultural council, the council for propagation, propaganda and learning and other councils related to the central council and measures have been taken in this regard.

A series of cultural activities were undertaken in the field during the past academic year.

1—Over 115 films, including feature films, documentary films and educational films, were screened at the auditorium of the Kabul University and over 68 concerts and art shows and meetings were performed at the auditorium, dormitory, and the library hall and on the lawn of the university.

[Text] Part IV

2. A meeting organised by the Cultural Council of the Kabul University included speeches, declarations of poems of a number of poets, recitation of the works of writers and an exhibition of paintings, calligraphy and sculptures all with the cooperation of the department of fine arts of the faculty of literature and languages to welcome the beginning of the new academic year.

3. Another meeting organised by the Cultural Council on the occasion of the establishment of night colleges and the Institute of Workers' Preparatory Education in the university included the performance of a contentful play and an interesting concert.

4. An exhibition of paintings of three famous artists of the country was held to welcome the third anniversary of the Saur Revolution by the Cultural Council.

5. A meeting was held in the university auditorium on the occasion of the joint space feat of the Soviet and Mongolian cosmonauts, which included speeches and screening of some documentary films.

6. A special programme at the university auditorium and dormitories of the centre and the girls' dormitories from Hamal 30 to Saur 10 (April 19-30) to welcome the third anniversary of the Saur Revolution included plays, concerts and feature films.

7. A session of poetry reading with the participation of four young and revolutionary poets of the country was held at the university auditorium.

8. An exhibition of sculptures, paintings, calligraphy, design and miniature works was arranged with the cooperation of the department of fine arts of the faculty of language and literature on the occasion of the successful termination of the first term of the academic year.

9. An exhibition of art works, including paintings and drawings, by nine students of the department of fine arts was inaugurated on the occasion of the establishment of the city council of the National Committee of the National Fatherland Front in the city of Kabul.

DAYS OBSERVED

10. The House of Afghan-Soviet friendship was opened at the Kabul University.

11—The Day of Descending of the holy Quran and the day of Mauloud (the birthday of Prophet Mohammad, peace be upon him) were celebrated at the auditorium of the Kabul University with the participation of scholars, religious ulamas and spirituals and members of the Islamic affairs department.

12. The international week of the Red Crescent and Red Cross Societies was marked.

13. The World Food Day was celebrated and an exhibition held by the faculty of agriculture and the faculty of veterinary sciences.

14. The United Nations Day was marked.

15. The World Day of the Declaration of Human Rights was celebrated.

16. An exhibition of books and scientific and cultural works of the German Democratic Republic was opened in the library hall of the university.

17. Performances of the Soviet and Bulgarian artists were staged at the university auditorium.

18. A meeting of solidarity was held on the occasion of the International Day of solidarity with students.

19. A vast open-air meeting was held to condemn the traitorous and anti-civilisation activities of the elements related to reaction and world imperialism.

20. A vast open-air meeting was held on the lawns of the Kabul University to expose and condemn the traitorous acts and confessions of Anwar Sadat in relation with the collusion against the revolutionaries of the Saur Revolution.

The Institute of Polytechnic, which is one of the most advanced institutes of higher education in the country, was built and equipped with the gratis aid of the Soviet Union. In 1360 (1981-82), in addition to its routine work, it performed the following activities.

1. With a view to meet the needs of the country, the following three departments were created.

a. The department of Civil Engineering.

b—The Department of Electrical Engineering.

c—The department of Motor and tractors engineering.

A total number of 588 students attended various sections of it.

2. A scientific conference was convened in 1360 (1981), at which over 90 professors reported the results of their scientific works in various branches of science and technology. The best of these reports in the form of scientific essays are published in the scientific magazine of the Polytechnic.

3. In 1360, for the first time, a seminar of the teachers of chemistry from the Kabul city schools was convened at the Institute of Polytechnic. In this seminar, views and experiences were exchanged concerning the growth and development of chemistry as well as on the methods and problems of teaching chemistry.

4. A scientific conference of the students of this institute was convened, at which 140 students read their scientific papers concerning various subjects of science and technic. The majority of speakers at this conference were the students of the fourth and fifth years of the institute.

5. In 1360 (1981), eight students were accepted for the continuation of their studies for the doctor's degree. At the moment, 23 students are working on their scientific research work in the Institute of Polytechnic to obtain their doctor's degrees.

6. This year when the institute was producing its 10th round of engineers with licence degrees, contrary to the normal procedure, the sessions to hear

the defence of graduation papers were held outside the institute in the establishments which employ them, such as the Mines and Industries Ministry, the Prefabricated House-building factory and the project-making Institute of the Public Works Ministry.

The number of graduates in 1360 (1981-82) was the biggest ever—222 engineers with licence degrees in the following branches:

1. From the civil engineering and industrial engineering, 51 graduates.

2. From the hydrotechnic section, 48 graduates,

3. From the motor road section, 25 engineers.

4. From the chemical technology section, 29 graduates.

5. From the geology and useful solid mines prospecting section, 21 graduates.

OIL EXPLORATION

6. From the mining of useful materials section, 24 graduates.

7. From the geology and oil and gas prospecting section, 24 graduates.

The total number of graduates of the Polytechnic Institute in 10 years reaches 1,635 engineers.

8. The graduates of the first second and third years of the institute took up their special studies for the master's degree according to the plan for the master's degree prepared after the Saur Revolution.

9. For those graduates of the Polytechnic Institute, and the faculty of engineer-

ring of the Kabul University and the similar institutes who could not go abroad to complete their higher studies due to certain reasons, special nightly programme of mastership had been arranged in the following manner:

1.—In the field of civil and industrial engineering, eight graduates.

2. In the field of hydro-technic, eight persons.

3. In the field of motor road engineering, eight persons.

4. In the field of chemical technology, six persons.

5. In the field of geology and useful solid mines prospecting, six persons.

6. In the field of useful materials' mining, six persons.

7. In the field of geology and oil and gas prospecting, seven persons:

The nightly programme of mastership is meant for those graduates who are working in different establishment and due to some reasons cannot quit their daily jobs.

8. Due to the requirement of various faculties of the Polytechnic Institute, 19 persons have been included in the scientific cadre.

9. Nineteen of the professors of the institute have been sent abroad for higher studies. Similarly 45 stud-

ents and technicians have been sent to the Soviet Union for higher studies.

10. Considerable cooperation has been given to various state and non-state organisation in relation with the test and analysis of various materials.

11. Numerous scientific advices have been given to state enterprises in various fields of civil engineering, industrial engineering, hydrotechnic and other fields. These advices were proved to possess great scientific and technical importance.

12. The plan for the training of future scientific and technical cadres.

13. Topographical mapping of the field of Institute of Social Sciences of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan was accomplished.

14. Various tools and equipments of the institute and those of other organisations were repaired.

15. Various textbooks, complementary books and the laboratory guide were compiled, translated and published.

16. All the departments and faculties, in addition to full contribution in these activities of the Institute, have also held various seminars in their related departments and colleges.

BRIEFS

NATURAL GAS PRODUCTION--Manama, 25 Jun (WAKH)--In a statement published in today's issue of Manama's AKHBAR AL-KHALIJ, an official of the Bahrain National Oil Company says that the [projected] total production for six natural gas wells is estimated at 300 million cubic feet, which will be allocated for local consumption. He says that the total cost of drilling the wells, which will be completed in the end of 1983, will be 3 million dinars. He says that the name of the company which will be awarded the tender to drill the wells will be announced on 28 June. [Text] [GF250808 Manama WAKH in Arabic 0622 GMT 25 Jun 82 GF]

CSO: 4400/345

PRESIDENT ISSUES FIVE-POINT DIRECTIVE

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 19 Jun 82 p 2

[Text] TEHRAN - President Hujjat ul-Islam Sayyed Ali Khamenei issued an important 5-point directive to an audience of the supervisors of cooperative societies headed by Commerce Minister Asghar Owlati who reported to the president on the nationwide cooperative seminar held here to "investigate the problems in distribution of consumer goods," said IRNA.

Hujjat ul-Islam Khamenei outlined the sensitive role the cooperative societies could play to combat and reduce inflation. He was optimistic on the idea of positive teamwork and concentration of cooperative forces under a single umbrella.

The president said the special significance of the ministry of commerce, in a transformatory stage from the former

anarchical to a disciplined and legal system, was evident.

Khamenei expressed that the state's policy disapproved of the centralization of commerce and trade within the government the private sectors but rather preferred to follow moderate status "midway between these two" paths.

He said the ministry can be said to have accomplished "an important task" if it succeeded in creating such a transfer process with calmness, ease and minimum loss.

President Khamenei then stressed on the commerce and cooperative officials to develop closer ties with the masses and issued the 5-point directive as under:

1- Evaluation of needs of people and composing proposals to meet them within the limits of the local areas inha-

bited.

2- Identification and investigation into violations such as stockpiling of goods, imposition of measures to control chaotic ongoing; utilization of revenue in the right direction and maintenance of commercial balance within the country's provinces.

3- Attention towards small workshops, productive units and to have the required spare parts and raw material available to them.

4- Selection and appointment of pious and expert individuals on all levels.

5- Development of morale and honest attitude in encountering the nation to gain their confidence and devising programs to eliminate the difficulties and meeting the needs of the people.

FOREIGN TRADE NATIONALIZATION LAW PUBLISHED

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 16 Jun 82 p 4

[Text]

Chapter 8 - Supplement

Article 46

The ministry of commerce is duty bound to dissolve all the centers of procurement and distribution of goods that have been established by virtue of the decree of May 10th 1980, of the Revolutionary Council of the Islamic Republic of Iran, after entrusting all their related affairs to the centers and companies, and to take action regarding their liquidation within a maximum of one year from the date of the dissolution.

Note: After the dissolution of the centers of procurement and distribution of goods, the expenses of the institute of commercial studies and research (subject of article 13 of the law pertaining to the establishment of the centers for procurement and distribution of goods, approved on May 10, 1980, by the Revolutionary Council), will be paid through the general state budget.

Article 47

With due regard to the cooperative sectors provided for in the principle 44 of the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the government is duty bound to draw up the bill concerning determination of standards, scope and conditions as well as the regulations for the establishment of cooperative companies and institutes for distribution, within a maximum six months after the ratification of this law, and to submit it to the Majlis for its ratification.

Article 48

The executive regulations of this law shall be drawn up by the ministry of commerce and approved by the council of ministers within a maximum of four months after the approval of the statutes of the center and companies.

This concludes the serialization of the text of the Islamic Republic's law on the nationalization of foreign trade.

CSO: 4600/595

ATTACK ON LEBANON SAID 'TO HAVE TAKEN MULLAHS BY SURPRISE'

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English 17 Jun 82 pp 1-2

[Text] Although the mullahs in Tehran continued their diatribe against the world in general over the past week, briefly including Syria and the Palestinians--and on one occasion even Libya--as candidates for castigation for not going in there and wiping out the Israelis in Lebanon, close watchers saw signs of a slight softening of their attitude over the ending of the war with Iraq.

When the Baghdad regime, still ready to imprudently show its panic over the defeat inflicted on its army, said it was ready to agree to yet one more condition set by Tehran for a ceasefire--right of way for Iranian armour to pass through to Iraq to reach Damascus on its way to fight the Israelis--the mullahs were obviously taken aback. They had obviously believed president Saddam Hussain would reject it, and they would merely be given a weapon for propaganda and their bluff would not be exposed.

So Khomeini had to be called upon to get things quickly back in perspective so the world, and Iranians in particular, would not see the bluff had been called. Only a small military group had been sent to Damascus by Tehran, "insignificantly militarily" according to informed sources in the Syrian capital, so the mullahs' own propaganda against its allies, the Syrians and Palestinians, could have been in danger of being thrown back in their faces.

And where Khomeini appeared to be changing ground slightly when he made a speech the next day was in relation to the demands for punishment of Saddam Hussain and the amount demanded in war damages.

Both these questions, he now implied, should be decided by investigation by an international Islamic team, not made immediate pre-conditions which must be satisfied before a ceasefire. Subtly, too, Khomeini appeared to be challenging the Iraqis to leave Iranian territory and keep their promise. Let them get out, he said, in 15 days; but he added a note of scepticism about whether they would actually do it.

Tehran observers saw this as giving the Iraqis the chance to prove they did intend to withdraw without Khomeini having committed Iran to the ceasefire before they actually did so.

Khomeini clearly pushed aside earlier demands from members of the government for \$150 billion in war reparations when he said this must be decided by the international commission. They would survey the damage and ascertain the amount of money needed to remedy it.

Similarly, he said, "spiritual goals of our efforts in pushing the enemy out of the country must be satisfied." This seemed to be his way of referring to the original pre-condition that Saddam Hussain must be removed from power and tried for his crimes.

It came at the end of a long and complicated sentence in his speech in which he tried to set down again that Iran's conditions for peace were immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Iranian territory, war reparations and this "spiritual satisfaction." Observers deduced from his remarks, however, that he was now putting the question of ascribing the guilt to the international team's judgment rather than demanding it be done automatically as a requirement of Islam.

Khomeini did say, however, that if the people of Iraq kicked out the Baath party and formed a popular (he did not actually say Islamic) government Iran would not demand a penny.

There was no doubt, some of his hearers said, that Khomeini was trying to be magnanimous in victory. He used language that at least implied he was aware of public concern over the fearful cost in loss of life of the war in saying there was no alternative but to go on fighting if Iran's terms were not accepted. His interspersed bursts of anger against the Baath party and the Americans and their agents served as ventilation for his normal venom against the world in general.

He told his listeners that "we cannot give away the rights of our people, although there are some Muslim rulers who give away the oil wealth of their peoples to America."

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon appeared to have taken the mullahs by surprise. Since the Iraqis had offered a ceasefire so that both Iran and Iraq could join the fight against their common Zionist enemy it was obvious the mullahs had to find a good reason for not accepting it. Khomeini's arguments suggested he was trying to provide this.

When Khomeini, in yet another speech, referred to the Israeli invasion he attacked both America and also the regional countries for being responsible for encouraging Israel in its audacity. He said the Arabs should cut off all oil sales to the West to force them to take drastic action against Israel, a theme which was picked up by other officials and the state-run radio and developed constantly in the past few days.

Khomeini's proposal came after the ceasefire between Syria and Israel was declared and on the day King Khaled of Saudi Arabia had died. The ayatollah did not refer to either of these two events. He went on suggesting that through an oil boycott and all-out mobilisation Muslims should declare war

on Israel and its allies, and should fight until Jerusalem was liberated. In those circumstances Iran would forget about its war with Iraq and put all its resources at the disposal of Islam.

It was at that moment that Abdul Salam Jalloud arrived in Tehran at the head of a Libyan delegation for an official visit. Observers speculated that this would provide the mullahs with a good opportunity to consider their future policy in the light of the fact that their staunchest ally, Syria, might get embroiled with a war, or at least a long-term emergency situation with Israel that might blunt its capacity to help Iran militarily and materially. The possibility of closer links with Tripoli was being suggested.

What concerns neighbouring Arab states about such closer ties is the possibility that Iran could replace Lebanon as a centre for extremist PLO and other leftist organisations who are responsible for most of the terrorism in the Middle East area. If these groups are forced out of Lebanon the mullahs could prove to be their protectors, it is feared. And from Iran, especially in view of the deterioration in the morale and seemingly the will of the Persian Gulf states to behave pragmatically after Iraqi reverses in the war, these groups could play a strong role in regional subversion, it is pointed out.

Tehran has not gone out of its way to attack the new Saudi king Fahd, who is suspected of being considerably more pragmatic than the late king and some others of the family who are weighed down heavily by the effects of their upbringing in a stagnated Islam. But it has repeated contentions that Khaled died in "mysterious circumstances" and hinted that his death was part of a plot to help American interests in the region.

CSO: 4600/579

KHOMAYNI KEEPS COOL AS IRANIAN PUBLIC REMAINS IN STATE OF SHOCK

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English 17 Jun 82 p 3

[Text] According to new arrivals from Tehran, the recent round of fighting with the Iraqis has left more than 60,000 Iranians dead. They said people are shocked and confused now the news has leaked out.

"It was first assumed that only 25,000 were killed on our side after the Now Rooz attacks," one recently arrived Iranian said. "Later it was said the figure was 40,000 and now it is widely rumoured to be closer to 60,000 dead," he said.

The mullahs have neither denied nor confirmed these figures, he said. The official silence is even more unnerving for the public.

He said the rumours of such heavy losses had pushed the ordinary people into even more fatalism and isolation.

"The average person spends between four and six hours a day in queues for food and other essentials, and in commuting," he pointed out. "At the end of all this he or she will have to cope with the inevitable hassles of contacts with the various revolutionary authorities.

"To obtain ration cards, a permit to repair your house, to renew your driving licence or to obtain any official paper necessary in red-tape stricken Iran you need to go in person to one of the revolutionary authorities or mullahs," he said.

"So life is an endless effort simply to keep one's head above water. In the process the poor suffer a great deal and those better off become bored and frustrated."

Meanwhile, the unemployed are finding new ways of making a little money. Some stand in queues and when they get near the front they sell their places to better-off people. There is also a thriving black market.

Bootlegging is big business: it is believed that hundreds of people are engaged in making alcoholic drinks with home-operated distilleries. The running joke is that only one branch of the chemical industry is thriving in the Islamic revolutionary Iran and that is distilling alcohol.

Since many well-to-do families have video-tape players, selling tapes is becoming a good business. Mullahs are commonly said to be involved in it.

The traditional ways of mourning at memorial services for the deceased have also changed. For many Iranians the only time to visit a mosque was when they would go to the memorial services held in honour of a deceased person by his immediate family. These were important occasions, and strings of preachers, Qoran reciters, chanters, caterers and so on were involved. Ironically, in the Islamic republic this business is dying out as the government has moved to bring mosques under the state control.

According to some recent arrivals the ordinary people have also lost interest in reading newspapers. Circulation figures have dropped to around a tenth of those in the mid 70s, when Kayhan sold an average of 300,000 copies a day.

One man told IPS, "I buy one copy each of Kayhan and Etelaat for my office but neither I nor my two office employees does more than skim through them. We buy no papers at home. During the Shah's time, employees would fight over the papers and we also bought papers at home and all of us read them."

Despite this bleak situation the mullahs seem to be secure in the saddle, at least for the time being, travellers say. Though steadily losing his popularity with the masses, Khomeini still retains the power to keep his own mullahs united against all opposition.

CSO: 4600/579

NEWSMAN DESCRIBES GRIM REALITIES OF LIFE IN TEHRAN

Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 14 Jun 82 p 4

[Article by Mark Wood]

[Text]

THE sandbagged machinegun posts outside key official buildings in Teheran and the frequent sound of gunfire at night leave no doubt that life is far from returning to normal in the Iranian capital.

But despite continuing violent opposition to the clerical leadership under Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, Western diplomats believe it is now firmly in control and will be charting the future of the country for many years to come.

What that future will look like has already been made clear by the reforms of the past two years which have been aimed at turning Iran into a pious and strictly orthodox Muslim society with none of the frills of Western life.

Coupled with the effects of a sharp economic decline during more than two years of revolutionary upheaval, the result has been an atmosphere of physical decay and austerity in Teheran and other major cities.

Roads and buildings go unrepaired, shops and dance halls are boarded up, and battered cars wheeze along city streets in what often seems to be a terminal burst of energy before a lack of spare parts consigns them to the scrap heap.

For the middle classes, who enjoyed a Western style of life until the radical clergy took full control of the country, luxuries are to be had only at exorbitant prices on a black-market based on stocks left over from the late 1970s.

With alcohol banned, the theatre dedicated to didactic plays on Islamic purity and virtually all other forms of entertainment abolished, many

complain that it is not so much increasing poverty as boredom which they find hard to accept.

But the discontented rich are in a minority and form no threat to the present leadership.

Its security is based on fanatical loyalty among the poor, who turn out in their thousands to chant pro-Government slogans at parades. An influx of more than three million peasants into Teheran over the past three years has greatly multiplied that support in the capital itself.

SUCCESS

But equally important has been the success of the Islamic revolutionary guards in fighting the Mujaheddin movement, which for long posed a major threat to the leadership and killed many of its members in a series of bomb blasts.

The machinegun nests and night-time roadblocks manned by armed teenage guards are evidence enough that the Mujaheddin, which offers a left-wing and non-clerical brand of Islamic ideology, is still active in Teheran.

It is not unusual to see guards firing bazookas into houses in the city centre when they believe they have located a new Mujaheddin cell.

"But the movement has no real leadership now. The revolutionary guards have succeeded in decapitating it and the lack of any major actions for the past eight months or so shows it is no longer a serious danger," one Western diplomat said.

At the same time as overcoming the last bastion of resistance to their rule, Iran's leaders have begun consolidating the Islamic revolution and ensuring firm adherence to its puritanical codes of behaviour.

The patrols of guards do much to enforce the new rules by keeping a wary eye open for prostitutes, who face execution, women not wearing full head coverings, who may be spat upon or beaten, and people who have been drinking alcohol.

The penalty for imbibers is normally 80 lashes, administered in three or four doses over three weeks.

"The lashes are usually applied with a length of steel cable wrapped in plastic, and it's usually greased so that it will cut into the flesh," a former student now in the guards explained.

Policing of the revolution is also carried out by self-appointed *komitees* in each neighbourhood which are made up largely of young people.

Teheran residents say the *komitees* are likely to burst into a house at any time of the day or night and carry out searches for alcohol, forbidden books or video films, and may also take people away to imprisonment or beatings if they are deemed to be leading an immoral life.

"What is so terrifying is that their power is completely arbitrary. Nobody controls them and they decide on the spot whether you are a criminal and what punishment you should get," a male teacher said.

The controls by both guards and *komitee* members even extend to stopping cars in the street to ensure their occupants are not playing cassettes of Western pop music, which is now illegal.

ACTIVE

Some Iranians say the secret police have also become more active and keep an especially close watch on people who have contacts with foreigners.

"Overall, there is an atmosphere of fear among the middle classes and

it's increasing," one diplomat said. "But what it shows is that the regime is getting a firm grip on everybody."

It was the educated Iranians of the middle class who largely organised and financed the revolution which overthrew the Shah, but many say they abhor the system which has emerged.

"The jails are much more crowded now than they ever were, and thousands have been executed. That's not what we wanted," a lawyer said.

Many of the Iranian elite fled the country soon after the Shah, and diplomats say hundreds are leaving each day now through illegal routes across borders to Pakistan and Turkey.

One effect is a drastic shortage of doctors. Experts in science and technology have also been leaving for the West, crippling attempts by the Government to revive some key industries, diplomats said.

Those who have stayed behind often have surprising theories about what will happen in Iran in the next few years.

A common theory seems to reflect a general feeling of insecurity and persecution in a country which has several times been occupied or dictated to by the major powers, and indicates continuing awe of the United States.

"It's quite clear the Americans are keeping Khomeini in power because it suits them for the moment, but when they are sick of him they'll put a Westernised government back in," said one Iranian businessman.

The anti-American slogans plastering the walls of almost every building in the city seem to make that kind of US role unlikely in the foreseeable future.

Diplomats say they believe there will be further turbulence in Iran when Ayatollah Khomeini dies as there is likely to be a power struggle within the different factions of the Islamic leadership over the succession.

"But that power struggle will be among the clergymen themselves and whatever the outcome the country will keep going in much the same direction it's travelling now," said one. — Reuter

DEGREES FOR GOOD HEZABOLLAHIS

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English 17 Jun 82 p 4

[Text] The Iranian government has announced that all students abroad who are dismissed from their universities or expelled from countries where they study because of pro-Khomeini political activities will receive government assistance in several ways.

They may resume their studies at an Iranian university, in which case they will be assured of a place at a suitable faculty with their studies in foreign universities taken into account.

If they have studied up to degree level but have not yet obtained their degree, the Ministry of Higher Education will award them an appropriate degree after examining their documents.

Those who wish to abandon their studies and are not yet due to obtain a degree can take an official certificate acknowledging that they have studied to the level at which they quit.

Finally, those who wish to go abroad again will be given every assistance by the government. The government has stressed that all these facilities are for students who are "hezbollahi" and have documentary evidence to prove that they have been engaged in political activities for the regime, and that because of such activities they have either been dismissed from institutions of learning or deported.

The startling offer is that Hezbollahi students have been promised a degree without any examination if only they prove they are pro-Khomeini. The value of all degrees issued by the Khomeini government will thus be automatically debased.

CSO: 4600/579

MULLAHS CLAIM PROFESSIONAL IRAQIS FLEEING TO ISLAMIC REPUBLIC

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English 17 Jan 82 p 4

[Text] As part of its propaganda campaign against the Iraqi Baath party, Tehran Radio has for the past six months broadcast daily accounts of Iraqi citizens crossing the border with their families to seek asylum with the Islamic authorities.

During the past two weeks the radio has begun to report the news of good class Iraqis taking refuge. Among the refugees are said to be physicians, engineers and other educated people. In one broadcast the radio reported six Iraqi doctors crossing the border to live under the banner of Islam.

According to informed sources these broadcasts have been designed to counter wide public resentment of the mullahs who, it has been widely alleged, have flung open the country's doors to allow rejects and terrorists from Iraq to come and live at the public's expense in Iran.

Educated Iranians have often criticised the mullahs for forcing experienced people out of their jobs and giving their places to less qualified "adventurers" from other Muslim countries, notably Palestinians, Lebanese, Indians, Pakistanis and Syrians. In the case of the Iraqis the current joke is that all the Shia gravediggers or beggars in Iraq who used to be friends of the Khomeini family are now coming over to Iran to get top jobs.

It is in the wake of such widespread criticism that the mullahs' radio has started to claim that refugees from Iraq are higher-grade people like doctors, engineers and other experts.

However, the mullahs have lost their credibility so much that even if their claims were true, few Iranians would believe them. Critics claim the mullahs resent people who are educated in subjects other than theology, because the primitive training of the mullahs leads them to believe that everything one needs to know is already included in theological courses.

In reply to such criticisms Ayatollah Meshkini, who is a close aide to Ayatollah Montazeri, claimed last Friday that the mullahs were not anti-science or opposed to education. "We encourage learning and education but are opposed to letting the West brainwash us," he said.

CSO: 4600/579

PASDARS INVITED TO TURN AGAINST KHOMEYNI

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English 17 Jun 82 p 5

[Text] A new group in Iran calling itself Irandin has called on armed supporters of the regime to turn their guns against Khomeini and his mullahs in an effort to return to the fold of the nation.

"We address this letter to our misguided compatriots who have placed themselves at the disposal of the satanic Khomeini," the group said in a pamphlet distributed in several Iranian cities.

"Please look around and evaluate your position," it said. "It is because you are ready to use your guns against other Iranians that Khomeini is able to continue his destructive and murderous rule. You soil your hands with the blood of innocent and patriotic Iranians so that a bunch of bloodthirsty, corrupt and mad mullahs may enjoy the sight of blood being spilled and Iran turned into a vast graveyard."

The pamphlet added: "You should look around to see what has happened to our Iran ever since this son of an Indian renegade (a reference to Khomeini) set his foot on our soil. He has turned a prosperous and developing land into ruins. He has killed all manner of joy and hope in life. He has closed down factories, ruined farms, shut down universities and stopped economic and social activities.

"Even if he pays you 5,000 tomans a month what is the point of it? You put your life in danger and soil your hands with innocent people's blood for 5,000 tomans a month, while the mullahs steal more than five million tomans every day. Even then, because of the mullahs' mismanagement your 5,000 tomans is barely enough to fill your stomach. Why should you allow yourselves to be the tools of murder, destruction and theft for these lunatics?

"You are not stupid enough to believe that Khomeini is a real spiritual man. Look at his satanic eyes; blood flows from his eyes. His tongue is the world's biggest lie-manufacturing plant. He does not drink whisky and vodka but he drinks the blood of your people. He does not like music and entertainment because he is brought up to be a gravedigger and paid mourner, as all preachers like him are."

Citing reasons why it contended Khomeini and his group are not men of God, the pamphlet went on: "You cannot, therefore, have the satisfaction of using your guns for God. You also receive no other reward than a sum of money which you could get doing other jobs. Why don't you think more deeply to know that you are only helping murderers. Don't you realise the name 'pasdar' is regarded as worse than a thief and robber?"

"You have been exploited by Khomeini so that the people hate you a great deal more than Savakis. Now people know that Savak agents were responsible for carrying out special duties for the security of the country. Even if they spied on people and helped to strengthen the pillars of the Shah's autocratic rule at least that was a responsible rule and people did not know better than that. But Khomeini's rule, which depends on you, is the worst Iranians have seen.

"So return to the bosom of the people, turn your guns against the real enemy of Islam and of Iran. Kill the mullahs and in this way wash the dirt and blood from your hands. The nation will forgive you and honour you," it said.

Irandin is the new group which has made its presence known inside Iran by distributing at least two pamphlets. Its supporters among Iranian exiles in Turkey told IPS that the group has followers among anti-communist Kurds as well as Pan-Iranists who have defected from Daryoush Forouhar's party because he joined the post-revolutionary government of Bazargan. They said the group did not wish to remain isolated or claim a right to form a government. Rather, they only wished to work for the independence of Iran and restoration of a civilised form of government.

However, in their style of writing there is clear evidence that members of the group have strong anti-clerical sentiments and wish to boost Iran's pre-Islamic civilisation.

CSO: 4600/579

IMPORTANCE OF PERSIAN GULF TO WEST DISCUSSED

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English 17 Jun 82 pp 6-8

[Text] The Persian Gulf, the deceased Shah used to argue, is the main artery of the industrial world. Volatile and turbulent, this region is strategically important to the world for supplying the bulk of the energy needed to keep Western Europe, Japan and even the United States alive.

Yet the same countries which seem to depend on the stability of the Persian Gulf for their very survival, show very little real interest in what goes on there. For more than 20 months a devastating war has been fought between two principal countries of the region, but it has only occasionally received bursts of genuine attention from the Western media.

And now a group of utterly unscrupulous mullahs, whose hold on their own home ground is only shaky, to say the least, are bullying the oil exporting countries and abusing the leading country in the Western camp and nobody seems to be concerned.

As Khomeini warns Saudi Arabia and other Arab oil exporting countries to turn their backs on America, and as his turbanned aides throw verbal abuse at the United States day in and day out, the mighty America gives every impression that it is helpless and unable to twist even Khomeini's little finger or assure its Arab friends of adequate protection.

To the Arab masses, the apparent American inability to retaliate against Khomeini is nothing but a sign of weakness. They fail to grasp the sophisticated notion that Khomeini's bland and meaningless attacks on the United States merit no reply in kind by the politically-advanced Americans. Indeed, Khomeini uses such a simple and essentially baseless line of argument against the Americans--such as calling the Iraqi regime an American stooge--that it is difficult to argue with him because Americans do not seem to have an effective language to reply.

Nevertheless some sort of response is necessary if the United States government intends to retain some credibility and influence in the region. Washington's curious silence not only dismays its traditional friends but also emboldens its enemies.

A Bahraini merchant of Iranian descent who has spent some years in New York told this correspondent last week that either the State Department in Washington D.C. was staffed with ignorant people or else the Americans had decided that the Persian Gulf was no longer a strategically vital area for the Western world.

"How else can we interpret the inactivity and absence of the United States in the area?" he asked. "Muslims invariably respect power and strength, although they may have sympathy with the fallen heroes," he added. "On balance it is their respect which counts, not their sympathy."

He explained that the late Egyptian president Abdul Nasser earned respect of the Arab masses because he appeared to be a strong and powerful leader. After his disastrous defeat of 1967, the Arab masses' respect for him began to wane.

As for Khomeini, he said, the Arab masses were impressed by the powerful image emanating from his victory over the mighty Shah and later by his tenacity and stubbornness during the hostage episode. But when travellers began to arrive from Iran informing people of how Khomeini had made life miserable for Iranians, the majority, whether Shia or Sunni, began to see the light and turned away from him. Only the leftists and anti-social elements in Bahrain and other Arab countries really supported Khomeini and his revolution.

"But today Khomeini and his aides are building up support among the Arab public again by showing them that they can abuse and shame the Americans and their friends without being opposed by them," he said. "In other words, the Americans are losing respect because they appear to be weak, while Khomeini is earning more because he appears so strong."

This Bahraini merchant stressed that it was the mass of the Arab populations who were led to believe Khomeini was strong and therefore worthy of respect. People like himself were at a loss to understand why the Americans and indeed the rulers of the Persian Gulf Arab states were helping to confirm in the eyes of their ordinary people an erroneous but dangerous image of Khomeini's power.

He speculated that since the Americans lacked the military muscle to protect their friends in the region short of endangering the nuclear-guaranteed global peace, they had decided to try to reduce the strategic importance of the Gulf by re-routing the flow of oil overland across the Arabian peninsula.

"The oil from Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and UAE could be transported overland to the Red Sea," a Lebanese living in the area told IPS. "Even Kuwaiti and Iraqi oil could be piped through Jordan to the Gulf of Aqaba or through Turkey to the Mediterranean. Subsequently, Iran and its oil and the Straits of Hormuz could be forgotten altogether," he said.

This might well be a dream. But such speculation finds receptive ears among some Iranians who, believing that Western politicians like Iranian ones

never tell the truth in public, maintain that the Persian Gulf has lost its strategic importance to the Americans and indeed to all the West. They argue that the West may like to develop the North Sea, Norwegian, Alaskan, Latin American and African oil to substitute for that from the Persian Gulf.

They further argue that by the time the current recession was ended in the West, other sources of energy would be developed to lessen dependence on fossil fuel.

Once oil was eliminated as an important attraction of the Gulf, then the West could forget the area and concentrate their attention on Israel and Egypt. They could let the Russians burn their fingers in volatile Middle Eastern politics.

Almost all littoral or regional states have territorial disputes with each other; Iran with Iraq, Iraq with Kuwait, Saudi Arabia with Abu Dhabi and also with Oman, Abu Dhabi with Qatar and so on. Then there is the Kurdish problem, invariably exploited by the USSR and often fanned by liberals in the West, which at times of political crisis could be used as a destabilising factor.

All these make the Persian Gulf region a difficult problem for the West to cope with. To such endemic problems are added the problem of the Iranian revolution, the rising expectations of immigrants in the oil-rich states, who outnumber the locals but are deprived of privileges, and the ever-present question of Israel and Palestine.

Yet to a logical mind the location of the region as a junction between three continents and two oceans, as well as its oil and other resources, point to its vital strategic value to the West. The region's oil wealth apart, its location provides what one may call a bridge between Africa and Asia as well as Europe and Asia. This bridge, as well as its airspace and waterways, is vital to the defence of Turkey and Israel in any superpower confrontation which might fall short of an all-out nuclear holocaust. In such an eventuality, failure to keep the Persian Gulf, the Arabian land mass and the Iranian plateau under Western political hegemony, or at least out of Soviet reach, would be fatal if the Soviet conventional forces were used to open a way to the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean.

Even if one ignores the importance of oil, the Persian Gulf is vital to Western interests for other reasons. The whole global strategy of the Western powers has been built over the past four decades on the assumption that this area would never fall into the sphere of the other camp, and it was on this assumption that the Soviets have shaped their own strategy.

One may argue that an end to Western influence in the area does not necessarily mean that it will be within the domain of the Soviet camp. This argument is not, however, without fault. By Western influence is meant a situation which existed during the reign of the late Shah, when Iran was a stabilising factor. It had, since 1975, solved its differences with Iraq, had no quarrels with other Arab countries (save South Yemen and Libya), was

friendly to Russia and China, was linked with Pakistan and Turkey and finally had full control over its own domestic affairs. If the Shah had wanted to remain neutral it might just have worked.

But thanks to Khomeini, today Iran is governed by an insecure regime whose survival depends on creating chaos at home and in neighbouring countries. With Khomeini in power, Iraq so badly beaten and the Arab oil states so insecure, it is farcical to expect the Russians to respect the supposed neutrality of the region in any possible non-nuclear confrontation between the superpowers.

With all this in mind, the deliberate way in which the American and Western European governments, media and public have been turning their heads away from Iran and the region can only be explained by the simple supposition that they are utterly complacent about their security and vital interests. This can only be dangerous for the people of the region and the world's security as a whole.

CSO: 4600/579

LEFTIST EXILE PAPER WARNING TO WEST

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English 17 Jun 82 pp 9-10

[Text] The leftist intellectual organ Mogahvemat (Resistance) this week warned the Western industrial powers that their idea of an "Islamic belt" cutting off Middle East oilfields from the Soviet Union is now threatening stability in the very oilfields which they covet. Religious fanaticism was proving a "two-edged weapon."

The weekly summed up the lessons which it said could be learned from the defeat of the Iraqis. It said these "tentative conclusions" to be drawn were:

1. Not because of, but despite the mullahs--themselves Arab orientated--the various and variegated peoples inhabiting southwestern Iran do consider themselves Iranian irrespective of their tribal, religious, regional, linguistic or cultural background. Saddam had reckoned wrongly, and to his cost, that the Arabic speaking southerners would receive him with open arms as a fellow Arab. This assumption was shattered in the fierce house-to-house battle in this same city of Khorramshahr a year and a half ago. These southern people, despite decades of neglect and repression by the Persian-speaking central officialdom in Tehran, identified themselves with Iran in no uncertain terms. This was also the case with the tribal peoples of the region, such as the Kurds, Qashgais and others.
2. The Iranian Revolution of 1979 had unleashed a tremendous popular potential. The way in which Iranians coped with enormous problems all around cannot be attributed to anything else--least of all to the "leadership" of a bunch of incompetent self-seeking mullahs.
3. The Iranian army, for long thought to have been a creature of the last Shah and his father, has proved efficient and loyal at times of war. It has not shown any overt political ambitions--unlike armies in the mould of the South American banana republics. Many of its high-ranking marshals and star-spangled generals either fled the country after the revolution or were liquidated. Numerous crack units were disbanded with humiliation. But the middle rank officer corps have proved their worth. The suspicion must, however, remain that once the war is over the army might lend its support to national democratic secular forces as soon as Khomeini leaves the scene. The

mullahs know this and are clearly apprehensive. That is, at least, one reason why they are dragging their feet over peace offers by all and sundry.

4. Iran is the most populous country astride the Persian Gulf. It is likely to remain the most powerful force influencing the stability or otherwise of the region. As we move towards the Near East, tiny Israel, a surrogate of the United States, controls the Gulf of Aqaba at the mouth of the Red Sea and the eastern approaches to the Mediterranean. Israel does what it likes as shown by its latest punitive (expansionist) inroads into Lebanon. The Arabs are and will remain helpless against her while factionalism, compounded by religious quarrels, prevails. The recent bloody clashes between the Shiite Amal faction in Lebanon, as well as the recent Moslem Brotherhood uprising in Syria, on top of all the other feuds in the Arab lands, could not help but show the green light to Israel to go in and clobber the Palestinians once more and show who is boss.

Those in the corridors of power in the Western industrial world who have hatched the idea of creating an Islamic Green Belt as a "cordon sanitaire" against Soviet influence in the region may come to realise soon that religious fanaticism is a two-edged weapon. It may further destabilise and fragment the Arab lands whose oil they covet. The Iranians may decide, once the dust of the Ayatollahs has settled, that they would be better off keeping well clear of the Arabs and their interminable wrangles. They now have a long 2600 kilometer frontier with the Soviet Union if the latter continues to hold sway in Afghanistan. If the Soviets can be persuaded that they cannot play the same game as the West with the Green Belt of Islam since it is anathema to their own long-term stability and interests, they may come round to accepting that a free, democratic and strong Iran striding towards industrialisation and 'modern' statehood is a better bet than making ad hoc deals with the Ayatollahs who should have never been allowed a resurrection.

Although highly critical of the National Council of Resistance's programme and its retention of the Islamic label *Moghavemat* praises it as a "common platform which can be said to be representative of its constituent elements' posture, thinking and class interests at the present juncture." It also commends the *Mojahedin* for their single-minded dedication to their cause and for their anti-clericalism.

As to the National Council of Resistance itself it is now evident that it is a broadly based organisation and enjoys the support of a large number of Iranian bourgeois democratic, left wing and socialist groups. Although marxist purists, including contributors to this paper "*Moghavemat*," consider the N.C.R. programme to be flawed, it is, nevertheless a common platform which can be said to be representative of its constituent elements' posture, thinking and class interests at the present juncture. Any misgivings that persist with regard to the Islamic background of the *Mojahedin* can be tempered by the realisation that the *Mojahedin*, though Islamic, are, to their credit, uncompromisingly anti-clerical. This is fundamental in any assessment of their role as a 'vanguard' organisation. As we have pointed out in '*Resistance*' before, all historically recent progressive movements which have paved the way towards 'modern' statehood, have been, without

exception, anti-clerical. Post Cromwellian England, the French Revolution, the American Revolution, Garibaldi's Italy, Bismarck's Germany and the Great October Revolution in Russia owed something to anti-clericalism.

Even what was saved from the disintegrating Ottoman Empire in the form of modern Turkey (though to this day a backwater) owes itself to the Young Turks movement's basic anti-clericalism under their leader Ataturk."

CSO: 4600/579

QOM CENTER MEMBERS READY FOR SOUTH LEBANON

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 16 Jun 82 p 2

[Text]

TEHRAN (IRNA) - The first speaker of the open session of the Majlis yesterday morning was the deputy from Some'e Sara, Caspian area, Mohammad Taqi Ranjbar, who condemned the savage Zionist attacks on southern Lebanon. He said that following the victory of the Iranian forces over the Iraqi Baathist forces, the Zionist attacks on southern Lebanon which have resulted in the martyrdom of thousands of people and the homelessness of some 600,000 innocent Muslims in the area, was another plot hatched by the United States. The US must know, he stressed, that such actions would not stop the Iranians from getting their rights from Saddam and would not prevent the imminent downfall of Saddam. He further criticized the silence of the reactionary leaders of the region.

Concerning the massacre of the Palestinians and innocent Lebanese people, these leaders should open up their eyes and see the courage of the Iranian combatants who have fought against the forces of Saddam for over twenty months and now were joining the Palestinian forces to fight against the Zionist forces.

In the continuation of his speech, Ranjbar, called on the Muslim nations of the region to rise and overthrow their reactionary and treacherous leaders, to take the government into their own hands and by using oil as a weapon, to cut the life-line of the US.

Meanwhile, some 80 deputies of the Majlis yesterday in a statement expressed their willingness to be dispatched to southern fronts of Lebanon to fight against the Zionist regime.

The deputies requested the Majlis speaker and the Supreme Defense Council to take the necessary measures for their assignment to the Lebanese war-fronts.

The statement said that following the recent statements of Imam Khomeini concerning the situation in southern Lebanon and supporting the defenseless people of Lebanon, a group of Iranian combatants had gone to join the Muslim forces in southern Lebanon and to fight against the regime occupying Qods and now the deputies were also ready to fulfil their responsibilities.

The gendarmerie of the Islamic Republic of Iran, in a similar statement expressed their readiness to fight against the usurper regime of Qods.

80 MAJLIS DEPUTIES READY TO FIGHT ZIONIST REGIME

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 16 Jun 82 p 1

[Text]

QOM (IRNA) – The scholar of the Qom Theological School yesterday cabled the leader of the Revolution and founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Imam Khomeini, to condemn the recent attacks of the Zionist regime on southern Lebanon.

The scholars and students of the center indicated they were ready to take an active part in the battle against the Zionist regime.

The telegram was in response to the recent invitation of the Imam calling on all Muslims to go to the help of the deprived masses of Lebanon, and castigating the indifferences of the leaders of certain Muslim countries. The Imam also had protested the savage actions of United States Imperialism and the Zionist regime which resulted in the martyrdom of more than ten thousand innocent and defenseless people of southern Lebanon. The members of the center expressed their readiness to go fight alongside the oppressed Muslims of southern Lebanon.

The statement further condemned the ceasefire announced by the Zionist regime and said it was a plot against the oppressed of Palestine and Lebanon.

CSO: 4600/591

THREE-YEAR RECORD OF CONSTRUCTION CRUSADE LAUDED

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 17 Jun 82 p 2

[Interview with 'Ali Reza Afshar, member of Central Council of Construction Crusade]

[Text]

TEHRAN, June 16 (Kayhan Int'l) — Today Khor-dad 27 (June 17) marks third anniversary of Imam Khomeini's decree calling for the organization of the revolutionary institution known as Construction Jihad. Much has happened to this organization since its inception and it remains as an institution that symbolizes the heart of the Islamic Revolution with its pronounced emphasis on the spirit of serving the deprived nations. It is not an exaggeration to say that all developing nations need the services of an organization like Construction Jihad.

We however cannot do justice to the brothers and sisters in Construction Jihad so Kayhan Int'l. presents to you excerpts of a recent interview with Brother 'Ali Reza Afshar, a member of the central council of Construction Jihad.

Replying to a question as to what role the Construction Jihad has played in maintaining the momentum of the Islamic Revolution he said:

"The Construction Jihad has played a determining role in various fields in the Islamic Republic — one of these fields being people's welfare and the attention it has paid to the welfare of the deprived compatriots — the same

individuals whose rights were trampled upon during many long years of the shah's rule.

"After the success of the Islamic Revolution, in order to publicize the slogans which were sacred to the revolution and for the attainment of the fulfillment of which blood has been shed, it was imperative that a move should be made towards attending to the affairs of the deprived of the society, the majority of whom are concentrated in the villages. The Construction Jihad assumed the responsibility for carrying out this grave duty.

"The other field in which the Jihad has played a leading role, was the dissemination of the spirit of jihad and the inculcation of the idea of self-sacrifice among the people for the needy members of the society. The idea of seeking a comfortable life, profit-seeking, flattering those in high positions, selfishness and the like, which had been practiced in the past, were eliminated by the Jihad. With the mobilization of the people, desire for making self-sacrifices for the needy and a feeling to the effect: 'Work Is Worship and Devotion to God', were brought about.

"The other effect, was the economic role of the Construction Jihad on the government treasury. Billions of toman were saved from the state budget. On the other hand, it set a great deal of manpower to work and prevented the unemployment of many.

"Briefly, in the economic field, it has played and will continue to play a major role in making the country self-sufficient through boosting production.

"Considering the fact that the agriculture in our country was entangled in foreign dependence while economic independence has a very close connection with self-sufficiency, the role of Construction Jihad will be very important in this field.

"In connection with forestalling the difficulties, which were created for the Islamic Republic in the course of the revolution, the Construction Jihad encountered them with the sharpness and wide-ranging endeavors which are its hallmarks. Attending to the difficulties brought about as a result of flashfloods in Khuzestan, the earthquake in Kerman and the like can be quoted here.

"The Construction Jihad has had a momentous duty to perform in warding off difficulties in connection with the war imposed by the mercenaries of Saddam through mobilizing and coordinating various popular forces. It has also been active in the political field. Its political activities can be recounted in the manner that it has disarmed counterrevolutionaries through disseminating the message of revolution among the villagers of Iran and through its activities towards attaining the fulfillment of the aims of the Islamic Republic of Iran, especially in the deprived and oppressed villages as well as the districts besieged by various political groups. Thus it managed to kindle hope in the hearts of the people and prodded them to strive for the future. It did not permit the counter-revolutionaries at home, who operated through the support of the Islamic Revolution's enemies abroad, to deceive the people and make that sinister policy to succeed again in this country.

"Similarly, in the field of international relations Construction Jihad showed to the world how

well havoc wrought by the process of disintegrating the monarchial order, could be replaced by the attainment of fulfillment of the revolution's viewpoints and showed them the depth of the Islamic Republic's construction capacity.

"The functions of Construction Jihad and the data on its activities, which have been carried out in the most deprived parts of the country, have shown to all the peoples of the world what in fact the Islamic Revolution was after.

"If the enemies of the Islamic Revolution leave it alone and the country's potentialities employed in warding off their attack is employed in reconstructing the country, quite obviously we could be effective in eliminating the deprivations of the people of this land.

Afshar then speaking on the need for setting up of the Jihad said:

"Perhaps the most significant need for establishing such an organization was the incompetence of the executive government machinery, which was unable to fulfill the needs of the people. The 'shah-influenced' administrative system of the shahy required a long period of time to get change for the better.

"Construction Jihad, which has gained a lot of experience during the course of its activities, has been a great and effective help in getting the present system transformed into one suitable for the Islamic Revolution.

The Need for Setting Up Construction Jihad

It can be said that the setting up of Construction Jihad has been brought about for fulfilling the immediate needs of the people and for eliminating the defect, which our administrative system and the executive machinery had.

At first the Muslim university students hit upon the idea of setting up of this Islamic Revolutionary institution. Those of them, who went to the villages every year before the success of the

revolution in order to get familiarized with the oppressed and deprived parts of their motherland and upon seeing their compatriots in such a miserable condition, use to long for improving the lot of these deprived people. After the victory of the revolution, they considered it their duty to again go to the villages in order to attain the fulfillment of their long cherished aim.

These thoughts became instrumental in their paying a visit to the Imam, and requesting him to mobilize the people for making a move in this direction through his message and commandment.

"After Construction Jihad came into existence through a message of the Imam, it encountered a lot of difficulties vis-a-vis the provisional government during the

course of its activities so much so that when it came to a head, Martyr Dr. Beheshti was put in charge of Construction Jihad's affairs in accordance with a decision taken by the Revolutionary Council.

"After Dr. Beheshti took over the responsibilities of Construction Jihad, the central and provincial councils were formed. After that, the main difficulties, including the absence of sufficient facilities in comparison with the talent available in this institution and the limited area of its work despite its expansion and a horde of other difficulties, such as the manpower problems existed in the Jihad.

"Of course, with suitable training of men, efforts have been made to eliminate this problem. The problem has gained a larger dimension after other institutions and organs have been commissioned as far as the absorption of the ideological forces in these institutions is concerned.

Another leading difficulty plaguing the Jihad is that it does not have any legal articles of association up till now, which has deprived it of legally defending the functions of its duties and responsibilities.

HAJ, BEST OPPORTUNITY TO PROPAGATE REVOLUTION

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 17 June 82 p 1

[Text]

TEHRAN - "The Supervisors of Haj caravans should leave no stone unturned to equip pilgrims with all facilities required to materialize the sensitive Divine duties involved since the Iranian pilgrims to House of God in Mecca, Saudi Arabia are representatives and propagators of Islamic Revolution on an international scale, announced a nationwide assembly of clergy figures heading Haj affairs Tuesday.

"The House of God is the best platform to advise and brief all Muslims arriving from all corners of the world to attend the annual pilgrimage season in the Saudi city - to uprising and liberate themselves from the imprisoning clutches of the Eastern and the Western oppressors, said the Haj authorities.

"We shall concentrate all our efforts to attain this Divine objective, vowed the clergy who ended a 3-day Haj seminar by issuing a 12-point resolution which reported on the decisions of the country's Haj officials supervising the pilgrimage of Iranians to Mecca.

The attendants stressed on the essential need to form an Islamic World Army with fighters from all Muslim regions for the purpose of liberating Quds.

The resolution on Haj therefore called on world's Islamic personalities, Friday prayer Imams, Muslim scholars and influential orators to attend to this important task, according to IRNA which carried the report.

The clergy officials here concluded the seminar by endorsing support for the leadership of Imam Khomeini and the Velayat-e-Faqih (office of the religious jurisprudent) institution which they vowed to defend until the last drop of their blood was shed.

The authorities, who will arrange the politico-religious Haj ceremonies, emphasized that Iran should continue to fight the imposed Iraqi aggression until all Iranian terms for a peaceful settlement of the almost 20-month-old war were met, including allowance of passage for an Iranian armored column through Iraq to battle against the Zionist troops in southern Lebanon.

IRAN, BULGARIA DISCUSS EXPANSION OF ECONOMIC TIES

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 19 Jun 82 p 2

[Text]

SOFIA (IRNA) - Andreh Lokanov, the first Deputy Prime Minister of Bulgaria, in a meeting with the visiting Iranian delegation to Bulgaria expressed his hope that by 1985, the volume of bilateral trade would become more than one billion dollars per year.

He added that economic ties between Iran and Bulgaria should not be limited to the purchase of oil from Iran by Bulgaria and other goods by Iran from the latter country.

The Iranian mission currently touring Bulgaria, is headed by Mohammad Salamati, the Iranian Agricultural Minister.

The Bulgarian Deputy Prime Minister expressed his great esteem for the anti-imperialist nature of the Islamic Republic and praised the achievements of the Islamic Revolution. He added that Bulgaria and Iran shared many common viewpoints in international issues. Andreh Lokanov, also expressed his hope for the expansion of political ties between the two countries, as well as for the economic relations.

He confirmed that the Iraqi imposed war had inflicted heavy damages on the Islamic

Republic.

Iranian Agriculture Minister, speaking on mutual economic and political cooperation, stressed that it could strengthen peace in the world. He also referred to the U.S. Imperialism as the enemy of the Third World nations and countries like Iran and Bulgaria. He urged the two countries to use their facilities to confront global imperialism.

The head of the Iranian mission expressed his hope for reaching agreements in favor of the two nations of Iran and Bulgaria.

Earlier, on Wednesday, Salamati met and conferred with the Bulgarian Petrochemical Industries Minister, Gevorgi Pankov in Sofia.

During the meeting the Bulgarian Petrochemical Minister said that the annual petrochemical production of Bulgaria amounted to some six billion dollars, and added that 25 percent of the production was exported.

On the basis of this, the Bulgarian Minister added there were grounds for developing and expanding the cooperation between the two countries in this respect.

Salamati further added that the two countries could cooperate in the fields of producing pesticide and chemical fertilizer production as well as medicine needed for veterinary science.

While welcoming economic cooperation with Bulgaria, the Iranian Minister said that the Iranian economic delegation wanted to collect information on the glass industry of Bulgaria so that measures could be taken for the purchase and installment of its technology.

IRNA reported from Sofia that Salamati met and conferred with the Bulgarian Agriculture Minister, Alexander Pitkov, Wednesday afternoon.

During the meeting the Bulgarian Agriculture Minister said that his country especially valued its relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran and that during the visit of the Iranian economic delegation efforts would be made to reach agricultural agreements with the Iranian mission.

He further added that Bulgaria exported one third of its agricultural products and therefore, there was a good possibility for expansion of trade relations in the various products and export of items such as meat, fish and other items.

Salamati in reply said that in Iran more than half of the people were engaged in agricultural work and related areas. However, he added, the former regime in implementing the policies of United States Imperialism, destroyed the country's agriculture and thus made the country dependent on foreign countries for farm products. Because of this situation after the victory of the Islamic Revolution the country faced bottlenecks in this respect, but the Iranian people have made a firm commitment to fight against U.S. Imperialism.

Later, Salamati visited an industrial research institute and several other industrial units.

CSO: 4600/593

PROSECUTOR IS OPPOSED TO RELEASE OF 'MINIGROUP' PRISONERS

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 19 May 82 p 3

[Text] In an exclusive interview with the correspondent of the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC, Assadollah Lajvardi, the revolution prosecutor of Tehran, expressed his views concerning the release of minigroups and 'hypocrite-troublmakers' from prison, ways to combat terrorism in society, and the reasons for increased terrorist acts in recent months. Because of the importance of the matters discussed, we are reprinting the interview in full from the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC.

The newspaper correspondent began by saying that statistics available 'to us' prior to the release of minigroup individuals concerning their counter-revolutionary activities showed that their activities had decreased and that their position was shaky. Following the release, however, it would appear their activities have intensified and not a day passes without Hezbollah brothers being assassinated. Do you think their release, and on such a vast scale, was somewhat rash? What plans does the prosecutor's office have to prevent terrorist activities?

Hypocrite Troublemakers

Mr Lajvardi responded: You put your finger right on the problem we are constantly facing. Very unfortunately, what you said is true. They created such an atmosphere that even those opposed to the release of these persons were, eventually influenced by the atmosphere and had to release a number of them.

The Tehran prosecutor went on to say: We have a report that 100 of the released repentants have joined the 'Jangal' terrorists and at present are organizing. I must mention a case. One of these very hypocrite-troublemakers was in prison. His father and mother were quite insistent that he be released. Since he was a respected individual and because of their insistence, the prisoner was freed after his father's guarantee. Perhaps the father does not yet know the fate of this son. This boy, who was taken out of our hands by the insistence of his parents, again joined the organization despite the pledges he had given, took up arms and attacked defenseless people. Fortunately he was arrested again by the Hezbollah people. When he fell into

the justice-seeking hands of the people, he had been so badly beaten that all his body was black. When he came to here he said: I do not know how long it took. Later, as a result of the beatings and the cyanide he had taken he went to hell.

A Message to Parents

The Tehran prosecutor continued: Look, I say to fathers and mothers who insist so much for the release of these individuals, do not insist to such a degree. These immature youths have fallen under the devilish suggestions of satanic individuals whose only goal is to kill. You go to the security people and cry and our religious brothers who are the manifestations of divine kindness and forgiveness feel sorry and issue release orders. The result is that after their release they go and join the Jangal group, and kill Hezbollah people and go to hell or as you see they kill Hezbollah people in the streets, are arrested and beaten to death by the people. You parents, why the insistence? You, the mother who has no control over her offspring, control some of your parental emotions, think a little about Islam and the revolution and do not insist so much on freedom for the offsprings you were unable to bring up properly. If you had been able to bring them up properly they would not have fallen into the clutches of these anti-God and anti-people groups. This insistence of yours resembles the fable of the benevolent bear. You want your offspring's release, but this would result in the annihilation of your offspring and a number of Hezbollah brothers. Why do you do this? I again want to tell fathers and mothers to control their emotions. They should allow their children to remain here because they will stay healthier. Anyone released from prison has, after a time, been caught by 'komiteh' and revolution guard brothers, transferred to Evin where they so often received death sentences. Let them remain here. Perhaps they will change.

Release of Prisoners

Lajvardi continued: The moment we see a change in them we will free them before you ask us to. Unfortunately, however, they pressure national authorities who in turn bring pressure upon us to free a number of prisoners against our better judgment, prisoners whose release we consider treason toward Islam and Muslims. We consider their release as contrary to the interests of the revolution. But what can we do? Unfortunately, this was the atmosphere they had created and because of pressures brought upon the offices of public prosecutors and courts a number of them were released. These are the same persons who joined the organization. These acts of terrorism usually follow these releases. We hope the proper authorities will give thought to the Hezbollah people and refrain from issuing further release orders and fathers and mothers will give some consideration to the revolution.

Reason for Terrorism

The Tehran prosecutor then spoke about an incident of a few days ago when a cleric and a woman passer-by were killed in Roshdiah square: When they brought the terrorist to us, we asked 'Who was the person you assassinated? His answer was 'I do not know. I saw he was wearing a turban.'

I said: Well, had you recognized him? He said 'No, I hit when I saw him wearing a turban.' I said: So, why did you kill the poor woman? His answer: 'Because she also said "You hypocrite."'

So, the person hits a pregnant woman, killing her and the child in her arm. What kind of a judgment is this? What kind of humanity? I do not know.

Insistence of Parents For Release of Offsprings

Lajvardi added: What is the meaning of the freedom that these fathers and mothers are insisting to get for their offsprings. The meaning of freedom is for these individuals go and kill innocent people? If you insisted and got your offspring out of prison and that offspring committed a crime, you are also a partner in that crime and killing. Do not subject the attention of our judicial authorities to so many recommendations. If you are aware that unjustified recommendations are contrary to religious tenets, why do you make recommendations?

The Tehran prosecutor then addressed himself to parents by saying: Why do you follow your terrorist offspring around and waste the time of security officials and national authorities so that they are obliged to move for the freedom of your offspring. Such behavior is contrary to Islamic interests. Refrain from such things. You will be given your dues in the hereafter. You fathers and mothers who have such emotional ties with your offsprings, why do you lack feeling for defenseless children, old men and women and Muslims? What kind of humanity is this? Have some consideration for Islam and Muslims and stop the resort to recommendations.

Situation of Convictions

The Tehran prosecutor said: I hope what is taking place in society will be a lesson and advice to the proper national authorities. We must say that quite unfortunately there are instances which would cause public outcries if they became known. A person is sentenced to 15 years in prison because of connection with hypocrite-troublemakers. He is then sent to Evin or Qezelhesar to begin serving his penal sentence. Before 6 months are passed, they apply for the person's pardon from the Pardon Commission and put his name on the list of those forgiven.

They reduce a 15-year sentence to 6 months. What kind of judgment is this? If the sentence was fair he deserves it. How do you know what he has done in prison? How do you know he has repented? You simply look at a name and just change a 15-year prison term to freedom? With what logic or revolution does this follow? Is it not that this person will join terrorists after release and again resort to sabotage? Alas, this does not conform to the dignity of judgment. For example when a sentence of life imprisonment or 15 years or 20 years is handed down, neither the prisoner or the court believes such a term will be completed. How can our prisons plan ahead since the prisoner who has been sentenced to 20 years may not serve even a year. Does not this weaken Islamic judgment? Does not this show that verdicts are without base or substance, with the sentenced individual not

believing the verdict will be carried out and prison officials for the same reason are unable to plan for the future? What kind of judgment is this? And for what kind of individuals? We try to free corrupt minigroups who take up arms against republican order and must be eliminated and who according to religious tenet are combatant and must be executed one and all. Is this service to humanity and mankind? Is not the release of a murderer, a criminal and a terrorist from prison tantamount to wasting the blood of innocent people? We feel we must protect humanity and compassion but we have lost the meaning of humanism. The terrorist who burns women and children in buses is really not a human being.

Assessment of Troublemakers

Lajvardi added: Why is the situation upside down? Why is it that when a Hezbollah is assassinated not an eyebrow is raised but when a terrorist is caught recommendations on his behalf come in from all sides? Pray, is this Islam? Is this being Muslim? Is this judgment? I tell you, God will give it to us in the next world. If in this way we are made to show softness as a result of cycles of recommendations and to ignore divine decrees, God will not forgive us for as the Koran says ignoring God's decree is corruption and blasphemy. This is so when we know an individual to be a terrorist or a member of a minigroup and therefore a terrorist and issue an order for the prisoner's release. These are not intended merely to be read or talked about. The Koran is for mankind's happiness. Unfortunately, the increase in assassinations is directly linked with such releases because even in their inner evaluations the groups had come to the conclusion that 'The present condition of the republican order is quite similar to the final days of the Pahlavi regime in that it is obliged to release the prisoners.'

'The Pahlavi regime did not release prisoners because of humanitarian reasons, but because it could not stand up against the forces of the people. It therefore opened prison doors and let out the inmates, a sign of its weakness. Now the republican order is in the same position of freeing prisoners. So fight with all your might because its death is near' [as published].

Of course this is the organization's assessment and we Muslims, you and I, provide the enemy with this trump card. Because you have compassion and kindness, you say perhaps these individuals will go straight if released. This attitude puts you in a position of weakness and the simpleton supporter believes this and thinks the government of the Islamic Republic has weakened, does not have the capability of fighting them and is in its last death throes. That person is then set against the people. Are not these releases, therefore, what the enemy wants?

Imam Orders Release of Subminigroupists

Lajvardi continued: Must we be special enforcers of our enemy and to release these individuals from prison as an act of pardon? Did the Imam say free minigroups? The Imam said: Those below the level of corrupt minigroups. Why don't we bear this phrase of the Imam in mind? When the Imam called for the pardons he referred to individuals below minigroup levels, which was

reported by newspapers. Unfortunately we have ignored these and immediately ask for pardon for those who have committed so many crimes against the people and attribute our action to the word of the Imam. Is this right? Is the Imam satisfied that we free and even give wages to those who have committed so much crime. To my mind this is contrary to the interests of the revolution and the people. I ask people who are opposed to the release of these individuals to make their protests heard by the national authorities and ask that these anti-human terrorist minigroups be not released from prison. After all our people must be given a sense of security. Why should it be that despite a strong government with strong public support people feel restless and insecure in their homes at night. All because of four or five foolish youths. People fear that an armed individual might knock at the door, attack and kill them. Do we not have the responsibility for them, for the country's security? Are we responsible to protect these minigroups in the face of their dirty and polluted blood? To prevent their execution? Do you pardon someone who has killed six revolution guards. Is this your and my responsibility or is our responsibility to the blood of Hezbollah people? Should we offer security for terrorism? Why should we? If we are to provide safety it must be for the Hezbollah people. Let there be security among the Hezbollah people and let us deprive the minigroups' security. In my opinion, no member of any of these organizations must feel a moment of peace in this country.

They must always be kept in a state of agitation and fear. There must be security but not for the minigroups. Security must only be for the people of Iran and the Hezbollah. There must be utmost fear and terror for these minigroups. Despite what others say: "these minigroups are also members of this society and must have security." No such thing. They are the enemies and cancerous growths of this society. They should live in utmost fear, not have peaceful sleep and not be able to enjoy even a drink of water. The Hezbollah members should live in tranquility. For this tranquility we must eliminate terrorism in this country. Terrorism cannot be uprooted by advice.

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PLANS FOR REBUILDING KHUZESTAN WAR ZONE DISCUSSED

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 20 May 82 p 13

[Interview with Habibollah Shafiq, supervisor of the Imposed War Refugee Affairs Foundation, place not given]

[Text] At a press conference yesterday Habibollah Shafiq, supervisor of the Imposed War Refugee Affairs Foundation, answered questions from reporters on the recent visit of the foundation's officials to the country's western provinces, the procedure for reconstructing war areas, and the activities, measures, and budget of the Imposed War Refugee Affairs Foundation for next year.

Concerning his recent trip to the provinces of Kurdistan, Ilam and Bakhtaran, Shafiq said: During a seminar which was recently held in the province of Khuzestan we deemed it necessary to travel to the country's western provinces in order to study the issues, problems, and activities of the Imposed War Refugee Affairs Foundation.

Concerning the operation of the Office of Renovation and Restoration, Shafiq said: At the beginning of the war an office called the Office of Renovation and Restoration was formed by the Unions Committee with credit allocated under account 222 of the Prime Minister's office which took on the work of reconstructing the cities in the war areas. Recently this office's budget has been supplied by the foundation. Since the foundation was paying the office's expenses we decided to absorb the office into the foundation. Since that time this office began operating under the name of the Renovation and Reconstruction unit. It has been actively involved until now with repair and reconstruction of residential, village, and municipal units of the provinces of Ilam, Khuzestan and Bakhtaran. The supervisor of the Imposed War Refugee Affairs Foundation was asked about reconstruction programs for the cities and areas liberated in the glorious operations Jerusalem and Conquest of the True. He responded: It has been decided recently that a supreme council called "The Supreme Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Council" composed of the Prime Minister, the Minister of the Interior, and the Imam's representative will have the final say on matters of reconstruction and rehabilitation of the war areas. Concerning the matter of reconstruction several staffs have also been formed, among them a staff called the Central Reconstruction Staff, supervised by the Minister of the

Interior. Its members are representatives of the revolutionary guard, the Reconstruction Crusade, the Imposed War Refugee Affairs Foundation staff, and aides from the ministries which are in some way connected to the matter of reconstruction. There is another staff called the "Rehabilitation Staff" whose members are representatives of the Ministry of the Interior, the Refugee Foundation, the Planning and Budget Organization, the Reconstruction Crusade, the revolutionary guard, the Red Crescent, and the Ministry of Defense. Two other staffs will be formed called the Work Division Staff and the Province Staff, which will supervise the matter of reconstruction in the appropriate provinces.

Concerning the 40-billion tuman budget which has been allocated by the Planning and Budget Organization for reconstruction of war areas and procuring war expenses, Shafiq said: The budget which has been placed under consideration for restoration, reconstruction and war will be 400 million rials according to memo number eight of the Planning and Budget Organization. It has been designated for four purposes, the needs of the armed forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the purchase and procurement of petroleum products, the current expenses of the Imposed War Refugee Affairs Foundation, and the reconstruction of war areas. Of course it must be mentioned that the cost of all four of these matters is 40 billion tumans. Of the things that have been mentioned this amount is not even enough for the matter of the designated reconstruction. He added: One eighth of this 40 billion tumans, that is 5 billion tumans, has been designated as the budget of the Imposed War Refugee Affairs Foundation for the year 1361 [21 March 1982-20 March 1983]. The supervisor of the Imposed War Refugee Affairs Foundation, referring to the recent visit of foundation officials with His Excellency Ayatollah Aloszma Montazeri, then said: On the recent trip in which I visited His Excellency Ayatollah Aloszma Montazeri with a group of foundation officials, he said that it would have been better if we had spent the 7 or 8 hours we used seeing him in the service of the dear refugees. Referring to the fruitful results of the monthly seminars of the cultural, occupational, and hygiene units of the Imposed War Refugee Affairs Foundation with regard to seeing to the situation of the Iraqi aliens, Shafiq then said: Since there are now about 100,000 Iraqi aliens living in Iran, and with the intention of taking more and better care of these dear ones who have been deprived of their homes and dwelling places, we suggested to the Ministry of the Interior that the Office of Imposed War Aliens also be transferred to the Imposed War Refugee Affairs Foundation. The Ministry of the Interior agreed to this and we hope to be able to provide better for the welfare of these dear guests of ours.

In answer to a question on how the necessities of life would be obtained for the imposed war refugees, Shafiq said: An interesting point is that the necessities of life the dear refugees lack are such things as refrigerators, carpets, privately owned vehicles, and so on. This in itself shows that the reality is that these dear ones are not suffering from any lack of the basic necessities of life. Concerning the procurement of life's commodities, which is clearly their right, an attempt has been made to designate six percent of all the products and necessary household goods in the country to be given to the deprived refugee families, which will be distributed on a

priority basis in light of the country's production and with the cooperation of the Ministry of Commerce. Likewise, with regard to cities such as Shush, whose people have begun their active lives anew, the centers of the Imposed War Refugee Affairs Foundation will help the respected deprived and war-stricken families and will procure the means and needs of life for the dear people of Shush until this city is back to normal economically and socially.

At the conclusion of this conference the supervisor of the foundation for matters pertaining to the war-stricken stressed that the details on the return of the dear refugees of the imposed war are subject to the authorization of the country's military officials, and insofar as there is no problem with respect to security and other matters these dear ones will be gradually returned to their cities and villages taking the extent of damage in the regions and the time required for their repair and reconstruction into account.

9310

CSO: 4640/318

KUWAIT THREATENED, WARNED TO 'REPENT', PROMISED TO BE 'FORGIVEN'

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 12 May 82 pp 1, 15

[Text] Imam Khomeyni has stated time and again that what we are doing against Saddam's aggressor, corrupt regime is only removing aggression. Incited by the United States, Saddam aggressed against our Islamic homeland and oppressed our Muslim nation. It is our religious duty to slap the aggressor and expel him from our territory. It is on the basis of this belief that young and old from Islamic Iran shouldered arms and bravely fight against the sly enemy who is supported from every side. A war in which one side is a young, toddling but believing and determined government, and the other side a corrupt rule armed to the teeth and supported by East and West.

Again, it is on the basis of this belief which rejoices in Mohammad's Islam that Imam Khomeyni has repeatedly told peace delegations: Come and carry out the Koran's command. Since the Koran says that if one group of Muslims aggress against another Muslim group, it is the duty of all Muslims to put the aggressor in his place. For this reason the Islamic Republic of Iran expected and still expects that governments claiming to be Islamic should put Saddam in his place so that Muslims would not suffer all this loss of life and property and so that all these resources could be used against the common enemy of Muslims and Arabs, meaning aggressor Zionism. Unfortunately however, the Arab countries have not executed God's command, and did not obstruct Saddam from his devilish mission, given to him by the United States, to destroy the Islamic revolution of Iran. Instead, as we shall say, they encouraged him to continue his aggression by helping him.

The Islamic Republic of Iran expected that these governments claiming to be Islamic would at least announce their neutrality even if they did not take the side of right and did not obstruct Saddam's aggression. Iran expected them to choose silence vis-a-vis the war, although their silence would automatically be considered meaning support for Iraq. However, we were satisfied with this. However, the reactionary Arab governments were not satisfied with this, and from the war's first days announced their support for the aggressor by their unstinting help. Instead, one can dare to say that Saddam, out of confidence in the help of these governments, accepted this momentous mission from the United States, attacked our Islamic homeland's borders, occupied our soil, and aggressed against our honor. As Saddam later confessed, it was solely by relying on help from Arab reactionary governments that he has been able to continue the war until r

We knew from the beginning that the United States' reason for imposing this war, and the reason for Arab reactionism to unstintingly support Saddam was in fact fear of the Islamic revolution of Iran expanding in the region by means of the awakening of Muslims. The United States knew that if the Islamic revolution of Iran were left alone for one instant, the achievement of Mohammad's Islam in Iran would awaken the region's Muslims to the deceiving and clever reactionary rulers who serve the United States in Islam's name. They knew how soon they would rise up against those rulers and overthrow those governments of oppression and tyranny which claim to be Islamic. They knew how quickly they would bring true Islam to power in those territories. The reactionary Arab governments also knew that the achievement of Mohammad's Islam in Iran would tear away their curtains of deceit and trickery. For this reason, although they participated indirectly but actively in infidel Saddam's imposed war, we are doing nothing at present to the corrupt governments of Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Egypt and Oman. We believe that they do not understand anything but the language of force, and that their duty will become clear through divine power and might in the not so distant future. Therefore, our speech at present is directed towards the rulers of Kuwait. Kuwait is a tiny country which has been pressured by Iraq and Saudi Arabia, and which has so far provided a great deal of help to Saddam's corrupt government. Our talk is directed to that very small, weak state which in terms of population is not as large as one province of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and which does not have the power to resist our soldiers for even one day. Our speech is directed to a government which has so far openly loaned \$6 billion to Saddam's infidel, doomed regime, and which has given only God knows how much hidden cash assistance. Our speech is directed towards a small, weak government which has so far given abundant port and transport assistance to Iraq's Ba'th government, to one which still continues its support and aid now that Saddam is passing the last days of his shameful life.

The rulers of Kuwait should know that their support for executioner Saddam has not been and is not hidden from our nation's sharp eyes. We know that Saddam, relying on this assistance, lasted a few days longer, for otherwise he would have perished in the first days of the war.

We know in which Kuwaiti base Iraqi Mirage airplanes refuel. We have intelligence about Saddam's and Kuwait's logistical cooperation. We know how the press and newspapers of Kuwait have created a lying, poisoned atmosphere of propaganda against the Islamic Republic of Iran. We know all of this, but so far we have foreborne. This is because we know that it is out of fear of Saddam and Saudi Arabia that it so shamelessly continues its aid. The Kuwaitis know even better than us how the United States, by means of one of its mercenaries (Iraq or Saudi Arabia or tyrant Israel) put on that phony show of bombing the petroleum facilities at Um Al-'Aish in order to destroy all the bridges behind Kuwait and close all roads for it to come back to the Islamic Republic of Iran. Just as in the case of Bahrain which set a trap for Iran and by clinging to it, justifies the Gulf Cooperation Council and the broad military presence of the United States in the region. We have not seen any Arab newspaper write an article about Saudi Arabia's open plot against Iran by means of Mehdi Mahdavi and that other person.

Yes, we know all this, but just as we have said, we have so far chose the policy of patience in regards to Kuwait. We wanted to restrain the rulers of Kuwait from this action through diplomatic activities, advice and suggestion so that perhaps their fate would not be welded to that of Saddam and they would end differently than Saddam.

However, we now announce that our patience may give out at any moment, and it is necessary to notify Kuwait's rulers that:

1 - The corrupt Ba'thist regime in Iraq is in decline, and Saddam Takriti is passing the last days of his shameful life, and there is no hope of his remaining.

2 - The Islamic Republic of Iran will certainly not tolerate another government of Saddam's type in Iraq because such a government would be a potential and actual danger to the Islamic Republic of Iran and the small governments of the Persian Gulf, including Kuwait. Therefore, Kuwait must not let itself be frightened of Saddam or anyone resembling him. The powerful government of the Islamic Republic of Iran which relies on God will take the side of Kuwait and the other small, weak Persian Gulf countries to confront aggression from any quarter whatsoever, and will punish the aggressor.

Therefore, in light of the preceding observations, we warn the rulers of Kuwait to repent while there is still opportunity, and to cease their support for Saddam. If they do so, the Islamic Republic of Iran will carry out God's command, and will forgive them for their past assistance which took place out of fear of Saddam. Iran will live with them in peace, sincerity and peaceful coexistence. However, if Kuwait's rulers do not awaken, and continue their support for the disintegrating Iraqi Ba'th regime, our nation will interpret them as being in a state of war with us just like infidel Saddam is. Naturally in that case, patience is not permissible either religiously or rationally. Therefore, reminding you of the appropriate warning of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which said: "Regimes in the region are truly choosing their future by choosing their type of relation with the Islamic Republic of Iran," we warn you that if you do not repent today, tomorrow will be too late.

9507

CSO: 4640/312

MONARCHIST PAPER CLAIMS 'OPPOSITION IS GETTING OUT OF BREATH'

Paris IRAN-E AZAD in Persian 15 May 82 p 1, 2, 7

[Text] Following news and information relating to Iran can guide us towards a prediction of our homeland's near future and fate. The "Islamic republican" regime has gradually changed to a totalitarian and completely oppressive government during the past few months. In the present situation, no softness or flexibility towards its opponents on the part of the government is visible. All the outlines of strangulation and oppression have come to light, and the incident of the attack of Ayatollah Shari'atmadari showed that the reigning gang is determined to eliminate at any level and at any time not only its opponents but even those having differences of opinion with authority on some matters, and to do so without any cover-up. The ruling clerics do not care how high the price is that must be paid on this path. This is because they have no alternative than to continue it, for no possibility of turning back remains. At this stage, the "Islamic republican" regime is exactly following the classic pattern of totalitarian governments found throughout world history. According to this pattern, the regime succeeds to a large degree in oppressing its first-rank, active opponents, and bridges widespread, purposeless armed resistance. As a result, despite the increasing level of pressure on the public and the obvious rise in dissatisfaction and hate, the terror governing society drives the opposition into silence out of fear and disillusion. We see in fact that the Mojahedin-e Khalq terrorist network and other Marxist-terrorist groups have been nearly destroyed, and each day even more deadly, annihilating blows are inflicted upon them. The regime's economic conditions continue to worsen, but the rulers, by revising economic plans and choosing more impoverished and primitive models for national life, conform them with the gradual erosion of the country's financial health. On the whole, violent oppression and the centralized policy of administering the country endows the regime with superficial stability. The government, by relying on a wave of violent propaganda and the announcement of long-term plans in various fields, pretends that it has acquired the necessary breathing space to administer the country. The government is striving to come out of political isolation. It continuously invites other national authorities (of course mostly from Eastern Bloc governments and the Soviet Union's satellites). Authorities of the clerical government make meaningless, numerous trips to the four quarters of the globe which are noisily announced the "republican" mass media. The conclusion of huge trade agreements are revealed without the mention of details, and solely as a propaganda

device to show what healthy relations the Islamic republic has with other countries. (These agreements are in fact often barter agreements entirely detrimental to Iran, meaning the exchange of very cheap oil for very expensive vital goods). All the previously cited items are indications of stability which an absolutely oppressive regime has temporarily acquired at the price of all-out terror and the expropriation of the nation's individual and social powers.

Under such conditions, opponents and strugglers against the Islamic republican regime have no choice but to revise their views on appropriate ways to struggle against and overthrow such a regime. We should not forget that a great many of the opposition's actions during the last three years have not only failed to create even a crack in the pillars of the tyrant government, but rather gave the government a chance to strengthen its defenses and find means to deal with its opponents. The treacherous plot of Iran's communists to stir up sectional unrest in the Turkman Desert, Azarbaijan and Kordestan, the fatal mistakes of the leaders of the "Mojahedin-e Khalq Organization" in carrying out their childish plan to bring down the clerical government by means of several thousand inexperienced and deluded armed youths, the cooperation of several opposition "leaders" with the Iraqi government in persuading it to attack Iran, the concentration of a small, unequipped military force on the Turkish border, and a great hue and cry concerning it, and the groundless claims of two or three so-called political strugglers outside Iran who continually promise the overthrow of the regime during the next several weeks or months (which does not happen), all of these were effective in extending the dimensions of oppression and strangulation in Iran and in discrediting opponents of the Islamic republic, particularly those abroad, in world opinion and in the Iranian people's view.

The the "Kurdish Democratic Party", announcing its separatist goals under the leadership of the sold-out element "Abdurrahman Qassemlu", claims to struggle against the regime, it naturally will not be able to attract the support of Iran's people, and even makes the struggles of Kurdish patriotic groups difficult and unproductive. The "Mojahedin-e Khalq", having a criminal past and signs of affiliation with international Marxism, mobilizes a group by spending foreigner's money, uses terror, sets buses on fire, and sends innocent children into the streets of Tehran chanting "This is the month of blood, and Khomeyni is overthrown" to be cut down by Khomeyni's criminal Revolution Guards. Yet at the same time its leaders flee and take refuge in the Paris suburbs, guarded by three truckloads of police, armored cars and attack dogs, and issue announcements. Naturally its demonstrations and operations meet defeat and no one supports them. But three or four thousand people are murdered, and as a result of the oppressive, strangulating environment that follows this defeat, the preparations that other struggling groups have made melt away into impossibility, and continuous months of blood go by and Khomeyni is not overthrown! When opposition leaders in Europe and the United States spend all their efforts in opening splendid, expensive offices complete with flowers, plants and secretaries!, computers and other marvels, and their work gradually inclines towards printing works of poetry and publications carry ads about emigration to and residence in Latin American countries, it is obvious that they cannot inspire the hungry and terrorized people inside Iran with anything but hatred and disgust.

By drawing realistic conclusions, we comprehend that the means and resources of the opposition abroad and the tactics it has chosen for confronting the Islamic republican regime are now completely ineffective, even if at the beginning, prior to the extension and deepening of the tyrannical government's strangulation and oppression, they had some effect. Three years ago, the opposition was able and obliged to defame Khomeyni's regime and expose it throughout the world (ignoring the fact that in those days most of the opposition leaders' energies were spent in becoming famous like movie stars, and in beating down others as their primary enemies), but today this is no longer enough. Today world opinion and a large portion of the mass media have realized the dimensions of Iran's tragedy, and other than a limited number (like Ayatollah Eric Rouleau) tell the world about the crimes and incompetence of the tyrannical regime. The opposition's propaganda struggle must continue, but now on propaganda alone will not contribute much towards advancing our aims.

Now the time has come to think about the ways and means of continuing the opposition's work. This is because we have unfortunately observed that the high-priced, low-yield actions of the struggling organizations, groups and personalities are slowly assuming a mechanical, lifeless quality, and are losing their sense of proportion with the conditions in Iran. Printing newspapers and announcements (even if they are broadcast daily by Radio Israel and Voice of America, or are continuously repeated by special radio stations), gathering greater numbers of opposition people in political offices and changing them into employees requiring the grandeur of 'leaders', sending telegrams and open letters to this person and that, spreading rumors, libelling this one and that, boasting, distorting history and the reasons for events occurring, none of these will provide any remedy. In Iran the regime has reached the maximum limit of viciousness and indifference to the people and the country's fate, and outside Iran we provide ourselves with amusement; they accuse "Shari'atmadari", and we send telegrams to "Khu'i" and ask the Great People for help (here even naivete has appeared, for a telegram was sent to Khomeyni himself saying "This Mr Shari'atmadari is a good man, let him go!"); the country's women are forcibly persuaded to wear the chadur, to give themselves up to the conditions of sigheh [temporary marriage], and to sit in the corners, while here we still condemn the shah's regime for depriving the people of freedom!; Tudeh Party members, as loyal officials of the KGB and Kremlin, penetrate every pillar of the country, while here we aid the New Tudeh Party which has reorganized under the name of the Iranian Revolutionary Nationalists Front, and take responsibility for publishing and distributing their announcements. In Iran Tudeh Party members have penetrated groups houses and betray refugeless, rebellious youths, turning them over to firing squads, while in Paris the Mojahedin-e Khalq, portrayed by Rajavi, exert themselves of May First in the ranks of the World Confederation of Communist Workers which is affiliated with the French Communist Party, demonstrating and raising their voices in unison with allies of the Iranian Tudeh Party. In Iran they are making preparations to dissolve the army and the legal armed forces and replace them with the Revolution Guards after the end of the war with Iraq, while here these two or three-person paper armies split apart, and they create Paris and Vienna

branches! In Iran they announce Sheykh Fazlollah Nuri as the greatest freedom crusader, and Shaykh Montazeri as the next Deputy Hidden Imam, while here a group are still buckling on their swords, and if dust should settle on the skirt of Their Lordships, they get sick to their stomachs. There a government in the throes of bankruptcy and penury allocates 2 billion tumans solely to propagandize and brainwash the people, while here our "Sakharofs", who fateful claims were deafening the ears of heaven, have put on their burial clothes and "movement" in them is no longer visible.

The opposition will not get anywhere with this type of activity because the distance between the earth and the moon can never be traveled in a horse-drawn cart. The opposition has fallen behind the path of events, and its leaders and infirm, worn out "brains" no longer have the power to conform themselves with reality. Iranian strugglers must think of new ideas for continuing their work, they must think about getting out of the futile cycle of the opposition's present actions. They must make preparations for an all-out mobilization and a decisive, determining movement to derail the miserable, hateful machinery of the Islamic republic. There is not enough room in a small publication to speak about details of this action. However, a note is necessary here. Although struggling against the cancer of the "Islamic republic" is difficult, it is not impossible. There are still many ways to strike and smash this bloodspilling system which the opposition has yet to pay any attention to. In any case, the first step in finding and traveling this road is accepting the incapacity and ineffectiveness of the opposition's present structure. This is the truth that in any case will become more evident and increasingly felt with each passing day. It would be best not to close our eyes to it.

9597

CSO: 4640/315

POPULACE OF LIBERATED AREAS RETURNING TO THEIR HOMES

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 19 May 82 p 3

[Text] In a press conference, Haj Habibollah Shafiq, chief of the War Refugee Affairs Foundation, described the approach to reconstruction of the war zones in the south and west, and how war refugees would return to the country's liberated cities.

Concerning reconstruction of the liberated war zones in the country's west and south, the chief of the Imposed War Refugee Affairs Foundation [IWRAF] stated: Extensive activity has begun towards the reconstruction of the liberated zones, including formation of the Supreme Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Council, in which representatives of the imam, the prime minister and the minister of interior are members.

He added: Other staffs are under consideration, including a Central Reconstruction Staff, directed by the minister of interior. Representatives of the Revolution Guards, the Reconstruction Crusade, the IWRAF, and deputies from ministries concerned with reconstruction will be members.

Another staff called the "Work Division Staff" will be organized. The Ministry of Interior, the Plan and Budget Organization, and any organization connected with this work will be active on this staff.

A Province Staff is also being organized. The governor-general, the IWRAF, the Reconstruction Crusade, the Revolution Guards and several general directors will be members of it.

Another staff which will begin activities is the Rehabilitation Staff. The IWRAF, the Ministry of Interior, the Plan and Budget Organization, the Reconstruction Crusade, the Revolution Guards, the Red Crescent Society and the Ministry of Defense will be members.

A budget under consideration for reconstruction, rehabilitation and the war itself, according to the note of the Plan and Budget Organization in the row for March 1982-March 1983, is 400 million [as published] rials. The budget is for supplying the needs of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the purchase and supply of petroleum products, the current expenses of the IWRAF, and reconstruction of the war zones.

The conclusion is that this 400 million rials will cover all these expenditures.

Repair Office

He added: At the beginning of the imposed war, the Repair Office immediately began providing cash assistance to Iran's Muslim nation through the Craft Affairs Komiteh out of Account #222. Afterwards the foundation also allocated this office a budget, and it began extensive repairs of the areas damaged by air attacks and artillery.

Afterwards we made this office one of the units of the IWRAF, and named it the Repair and Renovation Unit. It is now actively working in the three provinces of Khuzestan, Ilam and Bakhtaran. It will also begin activity in Kordestan.

Meeting with Ayatollah Montazeri

The IWRAF chief then said: At the conclusion of a visit to the country's west, we succeeded in meeting His Eminence Ayatollah Al-ozama Montazeri. During this meeting, while providing guidance, he said: 'This 7 or 8 hours you spent coming here was good for continuing the work you are responsible for. You profited from it. You have been doing your work which is investigating the condition of the war refugee brothers and sisters'. Ayatollah Al-ozmam Montazeri also stated: 'Begin your work in the villages, and provide encouragement and aid until the villages are populated. This is because the villages are effective producers, but if you populate the cities, you will promote consumption'. He added: Another thing we are considering is various sections of the foundation holding monthly seminars. During the last month, the foundation's Physical Education, Cultural and Employment Units organized seminars.

Iraqi Returnees

He added: In a seminar we had several months ago in Tehran, it was suggested that the Ministry of Interior give the foundation responsibility for the work done by the Bureau of Iraqi Returnees. We announced our readiness, and the Ministry of State also announced its readiness to cede this responsibility to the foundation. It was agreed upon, an agreement was written, a budget was set forth, and we will carry out this work in the near future.

From the first days of the imposed war the government was able to organize war refugee affairs. It made extensive efforts from the standpoint of nourishment, clothing, educational and health affairs, and even employment. Now the only worry that refugee families have is over items such as cooling equipment, refrigerators, carpets, televisions and automobiles. This indicates that their ordinary needs have been provided for. Of course, their desires are righteous, but unfortunately the government cannot possibly give a positive answer to all of them due to the existence of the war and then the economic blockade. However, actions have been taken. The quota for refugees throughout the country is 3 percent of the production of these

goods. The government gave them another privilege and changed this quota to 5 percent of production. We have given statistics on housing refugees to the Trade Ministry. They made divisions in proportion to the housing existing in each region and city-region. They have decided to allocate this production to the war refugees, and this work began several days ago.

We also thought that after the enemy had been cleaned out of the cities, we would give preference to refugee families in giving them items they need.

Last Friday when the city of Shush was reopened, a foundation branch immediately began working, investigated refugee matters, and is placing the necessary equipment and resources in the people's hands.

The foundation is prepared to repair houses or places of business that have been damaged, and we have already begun doing this.

Return of Refugees

The IWRAF chief, concerning how the refugees would return, said: The foundation has an important role in the return, meaning that it is responsible for returning the refugees. First of all we considered transportation, such as buses, trains, airplanes and even boats, and made plans such that whenever a city God willing, is liberated and the security officials give permission for our dear refugees to return, they will immediately use these vehicles and return to the city with the resources they have been given.

At the end of the interview the IWRAF chief stated: The budget planned for the foundation, which has been approved by the Supreme Economic Council and the Majlis, totals 5 billion tumans. Of course 50 percent of the foundation's expenses are met by the enormous material assistance coming from Iran's Muslim people.

He added: Following a seminar that we held in Khuzestan, it was necessary to visit the country's western regions, Hamadan, Bakhtaran and Kordestan.

In the visit to Bakhtaran Province, I talked with officials and met with His Eminence Ayatollah Ashrafi-Esfahani, Bakhtaran's Friday prayer leader. I presented him with a report on the foundation's work in the region. It was resolved that the foundation's Bakhtaran head would present him with a weekly report on the foundation's work.

Then we went to Paveh, No-Dusheh, Ravansar and Javanrud, and spoke with dear refugee families and the foundation's regional officials.

Paveh, due to the bombing of the city and the rural areas, preparations have begun to assess the level of damage, and it was decided we would pay these costs. There was no refugees foundation in Kordestan, so it was decided to organize a foundation and start up a repair and renovation office there.

AUSTERITY MEASURES, RELATIONS WITH U.S., SYRIA DISCUSSED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 115, 24-30 Apr 82 p 27

[Article: "Iraq's Relations Deteriorate with Syria...and Improve with the U.S."]

[Text] Baghdad's deteriorating relations with Damascus should come as no surprise after what we saw at the end of the last week. The two capitals have been warring with each other through third parties for a long time now. The Iraqis accuse Syria of helping Iran in its war with Iraq, providing Iran with arms, and opening its airstrips to Iranian fighter planes. At the same time, the Syrians accuse Iraq of aiding and arming its militant opposition inside Syria, as witnessed by what happened in Hamah earlier this year.

Baghdad had declared previously that it would support any Syrian opposition movement aiming to overthrow the regime in Damascus. This was translated into practice several weeks ago with its announcement of the formation of the "Syrian People's National Alliance", which is united with the former Syrian Defence Minister Akram al-Hourani's group, the Muslim Brotherhood, and other Nasirite and religious factions. Recently this coalition was joined by Hammud al-Shawfy, the former Syrian representative to the UN, who in a press conference held in the U.S. gave a statement and read the Alliance's political program.

Damascus responded in kind through its deputy Prime Minister Walid Hamdun, who at week's end announced the severance of relations with Baghdad and that Syria would support any movement directed against the regime in Baghdad. He said that peace and security in the region depended upon the fall of the regime in Baghdad.

The two announcements brought to a head a war that had hitherto been conducted largely in secret between Damascus and Baghdad. It is a war that has been going on ever since the Ba'th party took power in both countries, occasionally breaking out publicly in times of crisis in heated propaganda exchanges and mutual accusations. The most outstanding of these crises occurred in 1973 over the partition of the waters of the Euphrates (which passes through Syria before Iraq). Indicative of the confusion which marks these crises is the newspaper scandal that broke out when an American wire service quoted the Syrian Minister of Information Ahmad Iskandar Ahmad that the crisis was

fabricated and that there was no truth to Syria's claims that its shares of the Euphrates' waters were not sufficient for its needs.

Iraq's anger was aroused by the timing of Syria's demand for a greater share in the profits accruing from Iraqi oil that passed through Syria to Baniyas and Tripoli--just as Baghdad decided in 1971 to nationalize its oil and sell it on the free market.

The secret and not-so-secret war between the two governments would suddenly and every time a rapprochement was the signing of the "National Charter" in 1978 which placed the two countries on the road to total unity. Before a year passed, Baghdad was accusing Damascus (secretly, at first, and then openly) that it was behind a conspiracy in the Revolutionary Command Council which Baghdad had been able to nip in the bud and execute the guilty. Since then, armed confrontation was renewed between the two countries--especially in Lebanon where each capital has its armed supporters. In the meantime, war had broken out between Iraq and Iran. Damascus announced its regret over the war, considering it a waste of the resources and wealth of the two countries hostile to Zionism and Israel. Nevertheless, Damascus' good relations with Tehran gave some truth to Iraq's accusations that Syria was taking sides with the "Iranian enemy" in a war against an Arab nation. Damascus' so-called "strategic alliance" with Tehran was announced after a visit to Tehran by Syrian Foreign Minister 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam, making public Syria's support of Iran in its war against Iraq--a war that has been going on since September 1980.

With that, Baghdad started anticipating the consequences of this alliance for its own interests and security. Sure enough, two weeks ago Damascus announced that it was closing Iraq's pipelines that passed through Syria. That move couldn't have worse economic consequences for Iraq, especially since the latter is embroiled in a vicious war with Iran. It was followed by Iraq's accusation, denied by Syria, that Syrian aircraft were penetrating Iraqi airspace over Mosul repeatedly.

Austerity Measures

It was doubtless the closing of the oil pipelines which pass through Syria that prompted Baghdad to implement austerity measures for the first time since the war began. It was a difficult decision for the Iraqi government to make, since from the war's start it had been anxious to reward its citizens for their steadfastness by not allowing their economic life to suffer.

An official Iraqi source has informed AL-MAJALLAH that so far the austerity measures continue to affect luxury items. In particular the measures have touched upon hitherto easily available government services such as medical treatment in the West and diplomatic scholarships abroad. Nevertheless, President Saddam Husayn's speech in the National Assembly on the Sunday before last about Iraq's ability to adjust to more austere consumption indicates that more austerity measures are on the way.

Despite this gloomy picture, observers are not pessimistic about the possibility of mending the rift between Syria and Iraq. They point to the fact that despite the severity of the break, Arab mediation efforts are underway to maintain the economy of Iraq and ensure that Arab borders are secure before resolution of secondary differences can be contemplated.

Iraqi-U.S. Relations

The latest deterioration in relations between Syria and Iraq was accompanied by a positive development in Iraqi-U.S. relations, despite the lack of any common ground between them. The American Department of Commerce decided to sell Iraq between six to twelve civilian transport planes (L-100s) in an initiative between the two countries.

The L-100 airplane has the same features as a giant American military transport plane, the S-130, capable of transporting soldiers and military equipment. For this reason, it is expected that the deal will face strong opposition from the members of Congress who are anxious not to let any advanced American systems fall into Arab hands--even though this plane is a civilian type of aircraft made by Lockheed and does not require the approval of either the State Department nor that of the Department of Defense.

Colonel Mark Foche, spokesman for the Pentagon, told AL-MAJALLAH that the Department of Defense will have to testify on the deal. But he added that "our remarks will be on the minimal chance of any advanced technology falling into unfriendly hands."

He continued: "These civilian transport planes do not constitute advanced technology in any case. They were manufactured 20 to 30 years ago."

Nevertheless, no one would deny that these planes could be used for transporting soldiers and equipment. An official in the American Department of Commerce told AL-MAJALLAH that closing the deal would prove difficult. The only chance of its going through would be to include in the agreement a prohibitive clause against the military use of the planes. The official pointed to the trade deal between the U.S. and the Soviet Union as an example, saying: "As soon as the Russian cargo enters Afghanistan, it becomes military cargo."

American officials point out that the deal with Iraq reflects the need of American companies to seek out new markets now that European markets are closed to them. They also point out that the deal represents the beginning of improved trade relations with Baghdad. One source said that relations began to improve ever since the U.S. was represented in Baghdad's trade exhibit last year by fifteen companies. These companies were not asked to fill any orders, as would have ordinarily been the case.

Nevertheless, American administration sources assert that this "doesn't mean to indicate any change in Washington's neutral stance on the Gulf war." And Robert Bilitro, head of the State Department's Arabian Peninsula Desk,

stated in a recent interview with a sister publication, ARAB NEWS, that to extend arms to either of the two parties in the Gulf conflict "would not serve American interests, nor would it serve the goal of bringing the war to an end."

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CSO: 4404/448

KUWAIT'S FOREIGN POLICY DISCUSSED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 274, 22 May 82 p 28

[Article: "Is Arab Neutrality Still Possible?"]

[Text] For the past 20 years or more, Sabah al-Ahmad has played the role of younger brother loved by all rather than big brother who has "clout" with all. And for the past 20 years or more, Sabah al-Ahmad has exercised a Kuwaiti foreign policy based on Kuwait's political and nationalist dimensions rather than on its actual demographic size.

Kuwait obtained independence in 1961, at a time when 'Abd al-Nasir and the Nasirites were at their peak. At the same time there was a dispute going on between Cairo and Damascus (that foreshadowed their separation) and between Cairo and Riyadh. At the time also there was a crisis between Kuwait itself and 'Abd al-Karim Qasim. On the other side of the Gulf, there was the Shah of Iran who was putting the Arab nature of the Gulf to the test.

But instead of acquiescing to independence in the shadow of danger, Kuwait decided on the opposite. It decided on an unqualified move in the direction of nationalism. But at the same time it made up its mind to play the role of mediator among the Arab states. This meant that it eschewed taking the part of any one party in times of conflict, so as not to lose its ability to mediate and hence, its room to maneuver.

So as to make its international reputation for neutrality complete Kuwait took the initiative to recognize the Socialist bloc nations, despite the reluctance of the other Gulf states to do the same. The Amir of Kuwait Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad, at the time Minister of Finance (several years ago), headed the first Arab delegation to the People's Republic of China at a time when China never dreamed of being recognized by anybody. Last year the Amir toured the East European countries, the first trip ever for a Gulf leader, regardless of the critical timing of the trip with respect to the Arab region in general.

Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad never remained detached from an Arab crisis, whether in the Gulf or the entire region. From the impossible situation in Lebanon to the difficult one in the Gulf straits (mediating between Oman and 'Aden), he was there. Shaykh Ahmad used to shuttle so much between the two capitals

that people would jest: "Comrade Sabah al-Ahmad has arrived in Oman." Kuwait now plays a profound mediating role between the two Yemens. Kuwait has become the "third capital" for Presidents 'Ali Salih and 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, who meet in al-Saif palace every time there is a critical situation between Sana'a and 'Aden.

Indeed, the Crown Prince and Prime Minister Shaykh Sa'id 'Abdullah went on an official trip this year to the Maghreb countries. He had barely arrived before he was employed as a mediator between those countries capitals.

Sabah al-Ahmad offers to mediate to those who request it and to those who do not. As he says, mediation is not a negative process that people should avoid, but a positive process which should be more than merely a series of responses. The fireman's job is not to wait for the fire to grow but to prevent it before it happens.

That's why Sabah al-Ahmad conducts himself as though the Kuwaiti Foreign Ministry were that of France or Britain. There is no country that is "unimportant" as far as Kuwait is concerned. There is no nation that doesn't have the right to diplomatic representation. In the last six months Kuwait has hosted more than 15 conferences whose subjects ranged from medicine to politics to education. It has been host to around 20 Arab and foreign heads of state.

Of course, the reason for this does not lie in Kuwait's geographic location but in its political position. Vis-a-vis the Arab world the Islamic world, and the entire world. It is a position of neutrality, not an onlooker. However, after playing the role of active mediator in the Arab and international communities for 20 years, it looks like Kuwait is entering into a phase of neutrality. But as those close to Sabah al-Ahmad say, Kuwait is going to respond as it has been for the last 20 years when it comes to a conflict between an Arab state and a non-Arab state, i.e., there is no neutrality when it comes to Arab nationalism. Nor will it be neutral when it comes to a conflict between great states over the region. In this respect Kuwait's position is clearer and more public than any of its other positions. For example, it would be neutral with respect to Bahrain's and Qatar's dispute over the Hawar Islands, but it is not neutral with respect to the Iraqi-Iranian war.

A prominent Kuwaiti diplomat says Kuwait chose to be neutral freely therefore can also choose to take sides freely.

In the shadow of all the battlefronts raging throughout the region, Kuwait is concerned with preserving its political balance, meaning that it will not abandon its role of mediator. Or, more clearly, it does not wish to break off a dialogue with any Arab party under any circumstance, so as not to forsake its traditional, historical role. But preserving its political balance does not mean to refuse to take a stance. The Gulf today is more in need of clear-cut positions than at any previous time. Last Monday the Kuwaiti Minister of Defense Shaykh Salim al-Sabah, who rarely speaks about politics,

gave a speech to the new officers that constituted an unabiguous position toward the Iraqi-Iranian war.

Of course there is now a new body in which Kuwait is active which relieves Kuwait from responsibilities as much as adds to them. This is the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC], which represents a tendency on the part of people in the Gulf to take public political positions through this body. When concensus is difficult to achieve, the meeting is dissolved and reassembles the following week, as was the case with regard to the emergency meeting in Kuwait last week. Of course, even within this body every state has its own position, Kuwait's position now seems to be more difficult than at any previous time. And, as the Kuwaitis say, if a decision has to be taken then to take a stance is better than remaining neutral...when the situation warrants it.

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CSO: 4404/507

KUWAIT'S ECONOMIC POLICIES CRITICIZED

Kuwait AL-TALI'AH in Arabic No 745, 26 May 82 pp 11-12

[Article by Bu Dari: "Economic Planning is Aimless"]

[Text] What Kuwait has been up against recently in terms of economic crisis has led to a deficit in the 1982-83 budget amounting to KD 365 million. In my opinion this is a result of too little return on oil as the main source of income for Kuwait's economy. The insufficient oil revenues are due to the enormous amount of oil pumped by a sister Arab State with the purpose of revitalizing the West's economy. This led to a fall in world oil prices. Another reason is the budget's incapacity to support unforeseen expenditures, which used up a considerable portion of the budget.

This economic crisis moved the government to take sudden measures to control consumption. Since the sixties, many citizens, and AL-TALI'AH in particular, frequently sought consumption control, or guidance, in order to protect Kuwait from just such an economic crisis. The government raised the prices of certain consumption goods (which might be viewed as rather low-priced when compared to some other countries). But the question is, why did these prices adjustments come as a surprise and why was the rate of price increase so high? Who are the ones who are most hurt by the price increase?

The first question answers itself, since the state is facing an economic crisis but the government could not grasp this fact and thereby prepare itself in time for the crisis.

Certain price increases of certain consumer goods, like fuels whose price increased by up to 140 percent, has repercussions for the poor who bear the brunt of consumer spending. These increases will play an active part in resolving the present crisis, but the rate of increase has hurt many citizens.

Will the government be able to keep in control those "mean-spirited" people who might take advantage of the price increases to raise the price of their own consumer goods for sale, thereby reaping inordinate profits and thereby victimize even more a large portion of our citizens? Will the government take legal measures against such types so that prices in general don't increase to an unmanageable extent, or will it turn a deaf ear?

Conferences and symposiums convened by important individuals accompanied the government decisions to raise prices of consumer goods. For example, there was the symposium initiated by Minister of Finance 'Abd al-Latif al-Hamad in the Chamber of Commerce on 21 April. Two basic things about this symposium caught my attention: the minister's request that citizens be made aware of Kuwait's economic problems, and the government's withdrawal of subsidies for foodstuffs.

The minister's request that Kuwaiti citizens be made aware of the economic woes that Kuwait is going through these days is a difficult proposal, because since the sixties the government has been pursuing a policy of excluding totally the Kuwaiti citizen from national matters that directly touch upon his life. In this way it has exercised vigorous methods of crushing democracy and excluding the citizen from reality. It is enough to point your attention to the media's devotion to sports, especially soccer, and to the new Kuwaiti stock exchange.

Many institutions have taken responsibility away from certain social groups so as to divert them from the problems and concerns which afflict them. Regardless of the government's main role in stifling freedoms and suspending most public welfare organizations and unions in 1976, it was the government's principle duty to educate its citizens in matters that concern them, especially economic matters. And now, after all this, Mr al-Hamad asks that the citizens whose freedom of thought has been paralyzed be made conscious of Kuwait's problems!

As for the second matter, the withdrawal of government subsidies for foodstuffs, I have no quarrel with what Mr al-Hamad said. But has he given thought to institute an unambiguous public law that will put limits on prices, and thereby allow only reasonable profits, and prevent price manipulation on the part of merchants? Or does the minister believe in a free market in which prices are set by supply and demand, without restraints? If that is the case, then who is mainly hurt by this free market operation?

It is my belief that there are ways to control consumption without hurting a large portion of our citizens. They are the following:

- (1) A limit on luxuries, or a reduction in their price which goes to the pocket of prosperous groups in society who don't need it and who represent a minority of the whole society.
- (2) An attempt to limit the implementation of recreational projects that are unnecessary and cater to a very small number of citizens--for example, the skating rink.
- (3) An limit on bidding, through which contractors maneuver and squander state money and threaten sound planning for the future.
- (4) An attempt by the government to construct a building to house all of its organs instead of renting certain private buildings from a few big businessmen. This includes the Foreign Ministry building, the Treasury building, etc.

- (5) Sound planning for the education of professional cadres to fill the needs of the government bureaucracy, through a law of scholarships and educational leaves, rather than the prevailing haphazard manner currently in use.
- (6) An attempt to implement a progressive tax law according to the individual's annual income through which big businessmen may help the state in its economic crisis.

There are other aspects that I ignored here in which the state spends millions of dinars without any sound planning for the welfare of the state or its citizens.

In my personal view, the state is able to limit the present rate of consumption without resorting to raising the prices of consumer goods so severely and in a manner that will affect the majority of the Kuwaiti people. By its support of democracy and lifting its constraints on freedoms, the state can solve a large part of its problems. They are problems that can be treated through democratic institution and public welfare agencies and trade unions. Such a democratic, active role on the part of the state would raise the consciousness of the individual. These government institutions could share in the responsibility for economic and political problems by participating in political decisions, debating matters, and hearing the opinions of specialists in areas relating to these problems. Through democracy and mutual responsibility we can overcome many of the problems that face us and will continue to face us in the near future.

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CSO: 4404/597

LEBANESE PRESENCE IN GHANA VIEWED

Paris AL-NAHAR AL'-ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic No 259, 19-25 Apr 82 p 45

[Article: "The Ambassador of Lebanon: '2000 Lebanese Remain in Ghana and Face no Difficulties'"]

[Text] Jean Henreau, the Lebanese Ambassador to Accra, is the dean of the diplomatic circuit in Ghana. He presented AL-NAHAR AL'-ARABI WA AL-DUWALI with a run-down on the situation of Lebanese in Ghana, saying: "Through most of the seventies the Lebanese in Ghana worked in the field of manufacture. This trend followed a decree by the regime prohibiting individual trade, especially in commodities, and confining commercial activity to native citizens. The local economy derived great benefit from this measure. Its exports to neighboring countries increased but the coups that followed led to widespread fear among the Lebanese, because many institutions put a freeze on their activities during this time. But the speed in which the crises were resolved, and especially the rapport between the military and businessmen and industrialists during the era of President Aghnathios Istimbungh helped allay fears. However, this rapport did not last long for several reasons: There was a tangible deterioration of Ghana's economy due to the government subsidizing part of the cost of foodstuffs, which used to be a heavy burden on the country; Ghana is surrounded by countries which consider its own currency very precious, by virtue of it being tied to France's currency, thereby prompting speculators to smuggle foodstuffs out of Ghana and into neighboring countries like Togo, Upper Volta, and the Ivory Coast; spreading corruption among high officials to the extent that some of them were actually exporting timber, one of Ghana's most valuable and abundant resources, and occasionally even army vehicles; and finally, a law was passed terminating the resident status of western Africans who comprise the main source of labor in the cocoa fields.

Production fell from one-half million tons to 260,000 tons per year. The economy deteriorated further in the middle seventies, with bribery a commonplace. The Government of Ghana was in need of hard currency. Furthermore in the agricultural and mining spheres production came to a halt for want of spare parts. This in turn lowered the value of the "Sidi", Ghana's currency. Where the Sidi was once roughly equivalent, officially, to the dollar, the dollar started to bring about 40 Sidis on the black market. Then came the coup ousting the president, General Ashubingh by Akufu. But President Akufu

couldn't solve all of these problems, so Second Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings went ahead with his coup, after which he handed the government over to President Hilaliman. But this president couldn't respond to all of these problems, and bribery became worse. So, there was nothing for Rawlings to do but return to power.

"The Lebanese here don't number more than 2,000. Immigration increased lately due to Ghana's situation, which affected everyone. The vast majority of Lebanese here are factory owners, and their own production has been affected by developments here. I believe that just like the native population, the Lebanese too must sacrifice for the sake of Ghana's economy. It is the Lebanese people's duty here to bite the bullet and share in helping Ghana out of its poor economic condition. They have become a part of this country. But that doesn't mean they have all the answers. There are other non-indigenous communities here, such as Indians, Italians, and Europeans."

[Question] But what of the security situation for the Lebanese? We heard that they are faced with problems in 1979 and were subject to harassment after the last coup.

[Answer] A few petty officers caused some problems during the 1979 coup, which directly affected the Lebanese. But Second Lieutenant Rawlings rectified the situation. He alone in the army is keeping guard on security.

[Question] How do you explain the large number of Lebanese emigrating if the situation is, as you say, untroubled?

[Answer] The main reason for the number of Lebanese being below 2,000 at present lies in the coincidence of the coup falling around the Christmas and New Year holidays. This is the time of year when many Lebanese leave on vacation. But some people may remain abroad until the situation clarifies itself and the fear of the repeat of the 1979 events abates, and particularly because the factories are still closed. These are in addition to those who, fearful of a repeat of the events of 1979, have placed their children in schools abroad, such as Europe and Lebanon. But I believe that all of these fears will subside now that Rawlings has expressed his concern for the safety of the Lebanese and for avoiding a repeat of past events.

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CSO: 4404/448

DOMESTIC, FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES DISCUSSED

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English No 12, 9 Jun 82 pp 1-4

[Text]

The strategic alliance between the **United States** and Morocco has now been sealed. A week after King **Hassan's** visit to Washington, on May 18-21, the anticipated US-Moroccan military agreement, by which the US Rapid Deployment Force (RDF) is to be given access to Moroccan airbases (in addition to the port facilities available to the US sixth fleet), was finally signed on May 27 in Washington by **Alexander Haig** and the Moroccan foreign minister, **M'hamed Boucetta**.

In return the US is due to increase its military aid to Morocco threefold and send teams of US military instructors to train Moroccan pilots and ground forces under the aegis of a joint military commission. Hassan's cooperation with the RDF is viewed with apprehension in much of the Arab world and is opposed by many Moroccans; and in the US the administration's increased support for the Moroccan war effort in **Western Sahara** has aroused opposition, notably in the foreign affairs committee of the House of Representatives.

Hassan is a prime example of the kind of conservative third world leader to whom **Reagan** is keen to prove his reliability as an ally, above all because of Morocco's strategic location at the entrance to the Mediterranean. If US military bases in **Portugal** and **Spain** were unable to be used the new Moroccan facilities would be vital. Washington especially appreciates Hassan's current initiative to end **Egypt's** ostracism in the Arab world — an initiative illustrated by the congratulatory message sent to President **Hosni Mubarak** after the return of Sinai, and now by Boucetta's visit to Cairo.

Under the Washington agreement, which is valid for six years and then renewable, US air-force planes will have access to Casablanca's Mohammed V (formerly Nouasseur) airport and later to the air-base at Sidi Slimane, where \$20m is to be invested by the US to bring the runway and other installations up to RDF requirements.

Since the Moroccans retain a right of veto over the RDF's use of the airfields, it is inconceivable that the RDF could transit through Morocco to rush supplies to Israel in the event of a new Arab-Israeli war. The very idea of according military facilities to the US is viewed with extreme distaste in Morocco. It will be recalled that after Morocco's independence in 1956, Moroccan nationalists mounted campaigns against the five Strategic Air Command bases (closed in 1963), which had been accorded to the US by France, and the US Navy's communications facilities at Kenitra, which were retained by the US until 1978. Hassan's willingness to cooperate with the RDF could also complicate his role as chairman of the Al-Qods Committee on Jerusalem and chairman of the adjourned Fez summit of the Arab League.

For all these reasons, the Moroccan government has done its utmost to play down the significance of the agreement. It was deliberately signed one week after Hassan's official visit to Washington, rather than during the visit itself, to minimise its apparent importance and reduce world press coverage. And the full text of the agreement has been kept secret. Both US and Moroccan officials have been at pains to stress that no US military personnel will be stationed permanently at the new facilities.

Most remarkable of all has been the public interpretation of the agreement given by Boucetta, an interpretation totally at variance with official US declarations and clearly intended to deflect criticism from Moroccans. "I must make it clear, because a lot of rumours have spread around," he said on May 27, "that it is a question neither of the installation of military bases in Morocco nor the stationing of American garrisons or troops in Morocco, but it is a question, above all for us, of defending our territorial integrity." US officials deny that the agreement is related in any way to Morocco's war in the Sahara, despite the fact that the US is increasing its aid to the Moroccan armed forces (FAR). US officials are alarmed that after more than six years of war, during which FAR has been expanded from

70,000 to 180,000 men, Morocco has been unable to make any appreciable progress against Polisario.

The economic and social situation within Morocco is equally alarming to Washington. The drain of resources into the war effort, an appalling drought in 1980-81, which only ended last December, and the huge increase in Morocco's oil import bill have compounded the country's economic difficulties, placing the strains on its social fabric that brought about the June 1981 riots in Casablanca, in which some 600 slum-dwellers were shot dead by the army (AC Vol 22 No 16).

Despite the scale of Hassan's domestic problems and the war's role in exacerbating them, US officials fear that a Moroccan withdrawal from Western Sahara could cost Hassan his throne. Moreover, FAR, swollen in size and bitter after its gruelling years in the desert, might easily be tempted to embrace once again the putschist tradition of 1971-72. The US sees little alternative to shoring up Morocco's defences in Western Sahara, in the hope that eventually Algeria will sell out Polisario. The administration has officially endorsed the OAU's faltering attempt launched last June to arrange a ceasefire and a referendum; but privately US officials recognise that Hassan will only hold a referendum under conditions that virtually guarantee in advance a pro-Moroccan victory.

Both Hassan and the US administration hoped that Algeria would respond to his endorsement of the OAU referendum idea by forcing Polisario to accept it being held under conditions that would ensure confirmation of Moroccan annexation. They hoped also that Libya, which had restored diplomatic relations on the eve of the Nairobi summit in order to reduce the number of its enemies and secure OAU approval for the holding of its 1983 summit in Tripoli, would halt its military and financial support for Polisario.

However, since June 1981, both Algeria and Libya, interpreting Hassan's referendum pledge as a sign of weakness, redoubled their backing for Polisario. Both countries and Mauritania have been incensed by Hassan's military cooperation with the US, and Moammar Gaddafi was alarmed by Hassan's declaration in Paris on January 29 that he would turn a blind eye to any US attempt to overthrow him. On May 5, the Libyan government announced that it would not attend the adjourned Fez summit if it is reconvened in Morocco; and there have recently been Libyan threats to break off diplomatic relations with Morocco again. By contrast, relations between Tripoli and Algiers are now notably warm. On April 3, the Algerian and Libyan governments held an unprecedented joint session, to harmonise their economic development strategies, and decided to set up two joint hydrocarbon companies.

The Libyan role in backing Polisario is still over-rated. There is little credence to Morocco's recently renewed allegations that Libyan weapons are being delivered to Polisario through the port of Nouadhibou in Mauritania. The real worry for both Rabat and Washington is that Algeria has stuck firmly to its pro-Polisario line and shows no sign of changing course. Indeed, since the June 1981 OAU summit, Algeria has done its utmost to tighten both the diplomatic and the military screws on King Hassan:

1) President Chadli Bendjedid was careful after the OAU summit to allow the sincerity of Hassan's referendum pledge to be put to the test. He allowed the seven-member Implementation Committee (Kenya, Guinea, Mali, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Sudan and Tanzania) to go through its paces. At the same time, in a lengthy memorandum (*Referendum of Self-Determination for the People of the Western Sahara*) presented to the first meeting of the Implementation Committee, in Nairobi on August 24-26, his government insisted that the elementary conditions for a free and fair poll be met. (AC Vol 22 No 22).

2) Meanwhile, Chadli authorised a series of secret contacts with Moroccan officials, after the manner of the secret conversations in Geneva in 1980 between Ahmed Redha Guedira, a member of Hassan's Royal Cabinet, and Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi, who was then Chadli's ministerial adviser. (Ibrahimi was appointed foreign minister on May 8, following Mohammed Benyahia's death in an air-crash in Iran on May 3). However, as in 1980, the Algerian government rejected Hassan's pleas to settle the Saharan conflict bilaterally, behind Polisario's backs, and insisted that Morocco negotiate directly with Polisario on the modalities of the OAU's planned ceasefire and referendum. Hints in January from the Tunisian premier, Mohammed M'Zali, that the Saharan conflict might be settled at a Moroccan-Algerian summit were quickly quashed by the Algerians.

3) In response to Hassan's refusal to countenance the idea of talks with Polisario, the Algerian government gave the green light to Polisario to increase the military pressure in October by staging their attack on the Moroccan base at Guelta Zemmour.

4) Chadli lost patience with the Implementation Committee after its second session, held in Nairobi on February 8-9, when, contrary to the recommendations of its foreign ministers, who had met in the Kenyan capital on February 6-7, it decided under pressure from Boucetta to refrain from naming Polisario as Morocco's adversary in the Sahara and resolved, as President Moi explained, "not to name the warring parties although we all know who they are." Unable to summon up the courage to name the parties to the conflict, the committee could not arrange a ceasefire between them, let alone begin real preparations for the referendum. Chadli, we understand, was infuriated by the committee's timidity and judged the time was then right to put Morocco in a completely different diplomatic ball-game. Preparations began immediately for Polisario's coup at the OAU's Council of Ministers' meeting in Addis Ababa, a fortnight later, on February 22. With the backing of the OAU's secretary-general, Edem Kodjo, and 26 African states, the SADR was admitted to the OAU.

After Guelta Zemmour FAR pulled back to its two remaining enclaves on the coast:

1. The "useful triangle", which covers about 12,000 sq miles (1/10 of the territory's land area) in the north-west and includes El-Ayoun, Smara, the closed Bou-Craa phosphate mines and, since the completion in May of the southwesterly extension of its defensive "sand-wall" towards the Atlantic, the little settlement around the lighthouse at Boujdour.

2. A small enclave, about 180 miles south of Boujdour, which encloses Dakhla (ex-Villa Cisneros) and Argoub.

There are some 40,000 Moroccan troops in these two zones. The rest of the territory has been totally abandoned to Polisario, which continues to make occasional attacks along the enclaves' defence lines to probe for weak spots. However, since Guelta Zemmour, there have been no major battles, for two principal reasons: a) Polisario's military actions are closely synchronised with its diplomatic strategy. Big attacks are timed for maximum political effect and b) Polisario is aware that it will face much greater

difficulties in taking on the heavily defended Moroccan enclaves near the coast.

However there is some worry in the US that if the Moroccan forces remain entirely in passive, defensive positions, guarding their enclaves, their morale will erode dangerously. The evidence of the past 6½ years, which has seen Polisario's conversion from a small ill-equipped guerrilla force into a sophisticated army capable of mounting large-scale semi-conventional military operations, suggests that Polisario will acquire, or may already have acquired, the heavier weapons it needs to breach the wall. Indeed, the Moroccan army believes that Polisario has already taken delivery of long-range ground-to-ground missiles. Moroccan sources say that Polisario did try to break through the wall last January. If political timing is still vital, Polisario may well attack again on the eve of the coming OAU summit in Tripoli, to influence the heated debates on the SADR's admission to the OAU.

Following the November US military delegation to Morocco (AC Vol 23 No 1), the US agreed in December to send a team of about 30 Green Berets to begin a six-month training programme in anti-missile tactics for Moroccan pilots. It was also proposed that the US help train the Moroccan ground forces to shift to more mobile and aggressive tactics against Polisario, in order to raise Moroccan morale and deflect Polisario attacks. We understand that a team of 25 US instructors has recently started a training programme in commando techniques for Moroccan ground troops. Finally, the US plans to increase the number of Moroccan military personnel it is training in the US from 168 this year to 514 in fiscal 1983. All told, the administration's military training (IMET) allocation for Morocco is set to rise from \$1.1m in FY1982 to \$1.6m in FY1983.

The US' security assistance programme for Morocco was examined in detail at the first meeting of the joint US-Moroccan military commission, held in Fez on April 26-27, with 80 US officials in attendance, including eight generals, one assistant secretary of state, **Paul Wolfowitz** (director of the State Department policy planning division), and the two assistant secretaries of defence, **Francis J. West** and **Richard Perle**. On April 22, the US ambassador to Morocco, **Joseph Verner Reed**, informed the Moroccan government that US Foreign Military Sales (FMS) credits to Morocco would be raised from \$30m to \$100m in FY1983, a comparatively small amount set against a total Moroccan military budget of about \$1.8 bn.

If Saudi Arabia has also been bankrolling the Moroccan war effort, it is not enough to satisfy Morocco's creditors. Earlier this year, the French defence minister, **Charles Hernu**, announced a halt

to French arms deliveries because of Moroccan payment arrears, though deliveries resumed after France agreed in April to reschedule Fr 2 bn of Moroccan debts. Morocco, we have been informed, is now in arrears to the US firm *Westinghouse*, which has supplied a radar detection system. And financial constraints have held up the sale of the 108 *Chrysler*-built M-60 tanks, worth \$182m.

According to a document on its proposed security assistance programme for Morocco, presented to Congress in April, the increased FMS credits "will be utilised in major part for the continuation of the supply support arrangements for servicing previously supplied US weapons systems to the Moroccan army and air force (OV-10s, F-5s, Chapparel Missiles, Vulcan Guns) . . . (and) to purchase new items such as electronic countermeasures equipment for the air force, night vision systems, ground sensors and out-year payments on previously delivered systems." In fact, electronic countermeasures (ECM) for Morocco's aircraft have already been bought from Italy. On April 29, the Administration announced that it was selling 381 Maverick air-to-ground missiles; and a few days earlier it informed Congress that it planned to authorise a sale of 18 AB206 Augusta-Bell helicopters from Italy, where they are built under license from *Bell Textron* and *Sikorsky Aircraft*.

Despite this greatly increased military assistance to the FAR, US officials recognise that Morocco cannot expect to win the war militarily. The scale of US military backing does not appreciably alter the relationship of forces between FAR and Polisario. The dispersal and flexibility of Polisario's *katibas* inevitably limits the effectiveness of the commando-type operations which Francis West has recommended; and it is highly doubtful that Moroccan troops have the requisite morale and courage to engage in really aggressive commando-style actions. In addition, there are limits on the ability of the FAR, and especially the airforce, which has a shortage of pilots and has experienced difficulties with its new OV-10 "Bronco" counter-insurgency planes, to absorb new equipment.

American reservations

The right-wing US-based and sponsored Heritage Foundation, in a report entitled *Morocco: An Ally in Jeopardy*, published on the day of Hassan's arrival in Washington, has warned that, though the idea of negotiations with Polisario may be distasteful in the extreme, "unless the US is willing to expend huge sums, possibly as high as \$1 bn per annum, to upgrade the Royal Moroccan Army's equipment, finance Moroccan food and energy imports and pay

for the everyday conduct of the war in Western Sahara, the bitter pill must be swallowed."

Similarly, the House of Representatives' Sub-Committee on Africa resolved on April 20 that "the longer the war goes on, the more likely it is that any political change which does occur (within Morocco) will be radical and destabilising." Fearful that the Reagan Administration's proposal to raise FMS credits to \$100m would encourage Hassan to prolong the war, the Sub-Committee voted to approve only \$50m. This was then endorsed by the House of Representatives' foreign affairs committee, which also agreed that the US "should not provide Morocco with any training which has as its principal purpose improving the ability of the Moroccan armed forces to carry out offensive counter-insurgency military activities in the Western Sahara," and requested that "the President submit a detailed report to the Congress every six months on all training provided to the Moroccan armed forces" and declared its satisfaction with administration assurances that there were no plans to send US military advisers to Western Sahara.

Pentagon officials, aware of these constraints, see the stepped-up US military aid as a means of enabling Morocco to sustain, rather than win, the war. The idea is to impress upon Polisario and Algeria that the US will never allow Polisario to force Morocco out of Western Sahara. On a political level this has been complemented by a halt to US contacts with Polisario, which were initiated by the Carter Administration in 1980, and by the diplomatic pressures being brought to bear on a number of African governments to have the OAU's admission of the SADR reversed.

US officials have not denied reports that they lobbied several African governments to join the Moroccan-led walk-out from the Council of Ministers meeting in Addis Ababa, where 18 states joined Morocco's walk-out. Since then, every OAU-sponsored conference has run the risk of ending up inquorate because of boycotts by partisans or opponents of the SADR's seating. (On March 16 an OAU information ministers' conference in Dakar was adjourned *sine die* after 14 states withdrew in protest at the refusal of the Senegalese government, one of Morocco's staunchest allies, to allow the SADR delegation to enter Senegal; in early April, nine states, led by Morocco, walked out of an OAU labour conference in pro-Polisario Zimbabwe when an SADR delegation was seated).

On March 23, Boucetta formally requested, in a letter to OAU Chairman Mol, that an extraordinary OAU summit be convened to have the SADR's admission revoked. But, from the start, he must have

known that he stood little chance of persuading the required two-thirds of OAU members to back his call; and Moi, despite his pro-Moroccan leanings, saw the difficulty too. Instead, he summoned a meeting of the 8-member OAU Bureau (Angola, Congo, Gambia, Lesotho, Libya, Tanzania, Uganda and Upper Volta), which met in Nairobi on April 22-24, rejected the Moroccan call for an extraordinary summit and appealed to African states to resolve their differences at the coming ordinary summit in Tripoli. This was another important diplomatic set-back for Morocco; but there remain serious risks that the Tripoli summit will turn into a fiasco or even have to be abandoned. Many of the less radical African states would dearly like to deny Gadaffi his long-coveted chairmanship of the OAU. The controversy over the SADR's admission, which will be top of the agenda at the pre-summit Council of Ministers' meeting in Tripoli on July 26-August 2, affords them just the kind of pretext they need to scuttle the summit, which is scheduled to meet on August 5-8.

Keeping the home front quiet

Politically, Hassan has been able to weaken the principal opposition party, the *Union Socialiste des Forces Populaires* (USFP), and its allied trade union movement, the *Confédération Démocratique des Travailleurs* (CDT), by detaining some 200 of their leading militants and barring publication of the USFP's two newspapers, *Al-Moharrir* and *Libération*, since the June 1981 Casablanca riots. Recently, he has authorised a modest relaxation of the repression — by releasing the three jailed members of the USFP's political bureau (Abderrahim Bouabid, the party's first secretary, and Mohammed Lyazghi and Mohammed Lahbabi) at the end of February and allowing the USFP and the CDT to reopen their headquarters, which had been shut down by the police since the Casablanca riots. However, the secretary-general of the CDT, Noubir al-Amaoui, remains in jail, awaiting his oft-postponed trial, and on May Day the CDT was prohibited from holding its traditional labour parades.

The political vacuum left by the organisational demise of the USFP and the CDT is Hassan's strongest card on the domestic political scene; but discontent remains rife and more extreme opposition groups, of both Marxist and Islamic inspiration, are making inroads, albeit only on the margins, of the USFP's traditional clientèle. Students in Rabat staged a 48 hour strike in February to protest at the

imprisonment of 21 student militants, including three members (all from the Marxist *23 Mars* and *Groupe des Martyres* factions) of the 5-member executive committee of the *Union Nationale des Etudiants Marocains* (UNEM). In the Casablanca *bidonvilles*, we understand, cassettes of the violent preachings of the Egyptian Muslim fundamentalist Kischk have been circulating widely; in January, there was street violence in Tangiers in protest at the sudden disappearance of a popular local preacher known for his dissident sermons.

However, it is the army, the only organised body in Moroccan society, which potentially poses the gravest threat to the regime. Polisario and Algerian officials have certainly received the impression that the army may act against the king, as his military, diplomatic, political and economic predicament worsens. Such a crunch point, mirroring on a far larger scale what happened in Mauritania in 1978, might not come for several years. But Polisario has suffered few casualties, and Algeria, with its growing gas and condensate earnings outstripping the decline in its exports of crude oil, has little difficulty, with Libya's added support, in sustaining Polisario indefinitely ●

Footnote :

We understand that US defence officials are examining the advisability of seeking additional base facilities in such countries as Zaire, Liberia and Senegal. No formal negotiations have begun.

CSO: 4500/211

BRIEFS

REPORT ON HAIG'S RESIGNATION--U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig has announced he resigned because he felt that U.S. foreign policy has departed from the [word indistinct] of firm principle which was agreed upon with President Reagan. Haig has frequently disputed with the White House staff and others in the U.S. administration. He often differed with Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger. Press reports indicate that the two men disagreed on current U.S. policy of avoiding condemnation of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. This policy became a subject of increased argument at a time when Israel is besieging Beirut. Weinberger adopted a stronger stand toward Israel while Haig used to describe Israel as a strategic ally. The Israeli Government received the report of Haig's resignation with extreme disappointment. During talks which Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin held with Haig in Washington recently, he described him as a good friend of Israel's. George Shultz, who has been appointed secretary of state by President Reagan, is scheduled to arrive in Washington today. Shultz, who was in London when he was appointed to the new post, refrained from any comment in this regard. [Text] [GF261013 Salalah Domestic Service in Arabic 0700 GMT 26 Jun 82]

CSO: 4400/344

QADHDHAFI LINKED TO INTERNAL POWER STRUGGLE IN PDRY

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 113, 10-16 Apr 82 p 19

[Article: "What is Qadhdhafi's Role in the Power Struggle in South Yemen?"]

[Text] The critical situation at the border of the two Yemens in the last two weeks gave rise to considerable Arab concern and alarm, although this is not the first time (nor will it be the last) the situation has deteriorated between these countries who went to war in 1979.

To understand the backdrop of these events and the relations between Aden and Sana'a, it is necessary to acquaint oneself with the parties to the dispute.

The two major parties are North Yemen and South Yemen. South Yemen has a radical Marxist-Leninist government and is practically an ally of the Soviet Union. North Yemen has a moderately conservative government and enjoys good relations with the West and with the U.S. and with the Soviet Union as well, yet still preserves its national sovereignty.

A third party that has not ceased creating problems and clouding their relations is the National Democratic Front (NDF). The NDF is a bloc formed by South Yemen at Russia's prompting. It consists of a few Marxists whose objective is to carry out the acts of sabotage, plunder, and pillaging from secure bases in South Yemen against the southern part of North Yemen.

South Yemen's ultimate goal in forming the NDF is the subversion of the government in North Yemen and the imposing of Yemeni unity under the rubric of Marxist-Leninism. And this would be placed with the framework of Soviet ambitions in the Arabian peninsula for pressuring those states in the peninsula.

For its part, the government of North Yemen's president worked at cultivating good relations. President 'Ali 'Abdullah Salih proposed the idea of Yemeni unification for consideration. He called for implementing a unification plan conditioned on mutual participation by the Yemeni people and the expulsion of foreign parties from Yemen's soil. But it was not easy for the president of South Yemen to ignore the wishes of foreign parties.

Throughout the period that the NDF was carrying out acts of sabotage, the two presidents kept in contact in order to calm the situation. The most prominent meeting between the two was at Ta'iz at the end of last year, where they agreed to take measures to deescalate the border crisis and reduce the scope of the sabotage that was taking the lives of innocent Yemenis.

AL-MAJALLAH has learned that upon the return to Aden of President 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, Dr 'Abd al-Karim al-Iryani, the prime minister of North Yemen, received a phone call from the South Yemeni defense minister, Mr 'Ali 'Antar. Mr 'Antar informed Dr al-Iryani that the "gentleman's agreement" arrived at by the Yemeni presidents at Ta'iz was rejected by the South Yemeni ruling party, and that therefore South Yemen was "not bound to honor the agreement." Dr al-Iryani responded angrily, "We thought we were dealing with a nation, not an individual." With that phone call, the Sana'a government began to realize that President 'Ali Nasir Muhammad's good intentions were not enough, and that he didn't pull the strings with his own government. It was evident that there were elements within the South Yemeni party that wanted to keep the conflict alive and the war burning. It is these elements who evidently were behind the most recent problems. There was clearly a conflict going on between South Yemen's president 'Ali Nasir Muhammad's wing, which sought to place a limit on the NDF's activities, and Defense Minister Salih Muslih and his supporters, who also enjoyed the support of 'Ali 'Antar, the Minister for Local Administration (formerly the defense minister). This latter group does not wish to see a limit placed on the NDF. In fact, matters have reached the point where the NDF, was given SAM missiles for the first time and was able to down three North Yemeni aircraft. This factor has led to an upset of the balance of power between them. It means that North Yemeni air power has been neutralized, which is totally unacceptable.

Qadhdhafi's Role

From another perspective, AL-MAJALLAH has learned from sources in Aden that Col Mu'amar al-Qadhdhafi has intensified his support for the NDF via South Yemen. Our information is certain that al-Qadhdhafi has sent private automobiles to Mr Salih Muslih, the South Yemeni defense minister, who in turn distributes them as gifts among the higher officers of the South Yemeni army in order to ensure their loyalty. This means that the next victim would be President 'Ali Nasir Muhammad. It is also known that the Libyan president has sworn to himself in Aden after the Tripartite alliance to exert every possible effort to bring down the regime of President 'Ali 'Abdullah Salih. From his part, the North Yemeni president has been following a policy of self-restraint. Recently, the Yemeni tribes have petitioned him to form a popular army for the country's defense. This popular army would aim at neutralizing NDF sabotage and supporting the regular army if the latter proves unable to cope with the military confrontation between Sana'a and Aden.

In fact, the tribes have already started to gather at Dhamar, a medium-sized town lying half-way between Ta'iz and Sana'a.

COMMENTARY NOTES ARAB UNITY NEEDED TO REMOVE ISRAELIS FROM LEBANON

LD241522 Riyadh Domestic Service in Arabic 1130 GMT 24 Jun 82

[Commentary by Hashim 'Abduh Hashim]

[Text] Intensified Arab consultations are taking place now with the aim of concluding an urgent meeting of the Arab foreign ministers to study the dimensions of the current situation in Lebanon in light of the results of the meetings of the Lebanese National Salvation Council on the one hand, and the moves by U.S. envoy Philip Habib and the visit to Washington by Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin, on the other.

Although the Arab League member states are convinced of the need to reach a unified Arab stance which will restore to the Arab nation its cohesion and unify its efforts in face of current and future dangers, the complications that surround the issue raise a big, important and difficult question:

What are the foreign ministers expected to do? To put it more correctly: Can it be said that Arab conviction is complete regarding the need to reach a unified stance and drop all differences and contradictory stances? Or are we, as Arabs, prepared to think in a new and independent way far from psychological complexes and strong external pressures? These questions impose themselves today, since regrettably we do not believe that what has happened in Lebanon has yet produced the solid ground on which we can build the future of unified Arab action in a manner which is entirely different from our past dealing and which provides fresh possibilities for a collective move. This is because moves within the framework of the Arab League can be enough for providing suitable circumstances for a meeting on objectives that are apt to confront the current danger and speed up a solution which contributes to a withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon. But what is actually happening is that there are other moves which might hinder or at least weaken the role of the league; they seek to come up with specific stances at a time when we ought to activate the Arab League's political role, in this circumstance in particular, and allow it to make an effective contribution that might lead to choosing practical means for tackling the issues.

Regardless of the Israeli conditions on whose refusal in letter and spirit we are agreed, and regardless of the fact that what has happened is but the

result of our own negligence toward our rights as a result of the continuation of our differences, the belief that any meeting in the circumstances of varied stances can achieve positive results is a belief that lacks much soundness. This is because to continue to tackle the issues with the same old methods can only lead to more divisions.

If the Arab brothers give it some thought, they will find that the circumstances are different nowadays and that disparity in the past used to be about thoughts and concepts which sought to achieve a certain progress within the framework of wresting the usurped Arab rights. The effort which is required nowadays, on the other hand, must stem mainly from the feelings of the gravity of the full Israeli presence on a new Arab territory. There is a great difference between us agreeing or disagreeing on the liberation of the Arab and Palestinian territories occupied in 1967, and facing a new danger which is present in Lebanon.

Had it not been for our incorrect handling of the issues and for dismissing good will when examining the thoughts presented to us, the current events would not have happened, nor would the Arab nation receive anew this slap in the face, nor would this nation find itself standing in other mazes and bewildered in face of the problem of driving the Israeli enemy out of a new Arab territory.

The thing we fear most here in Saudi Arabia is a multiplicity of opinions and the passage of time without the nation deciding on something which can turn the bitter feeling of the new calamity into a constructive action. If our fears are realized, the region will be exposed to adventures by Israel, which will find its great opportunity in continuing the policy of swallowing more Arab territories.

Will the differences continue and will the presence of Israel in Lebanon territories last long? This is a question which is full of pain, but we believe that pain is not enough to tackle issues of destiny; (?effective) solutions cannot realize certain gains for us unless we realize that the plot is bigger than it seems. We hope that we shall work sincerely for cleansing our territories from the Israeli presence, regardless of cost.

CSO: 4400/344

BRIEFS

KING DISPENSES BONUSES, DONATIONS--Al-Ta'if, June 26 (SPA)--King Fahd today ordered a month's salary to be paid as a bonus to all civil servants and military personnel at the end of the Moslem fasting month of Ramadan, which started last Tuesday. The Saudi monarch also ordered the release of a number of prisoners in Saudi Arabia and gave them a "chance to start a new page in life." SPA has learned that King Fahd announced a SR [Saudi riyals] 15 million donation for humanitarian societies and SR 40 million as a grant to be distributed to poor people all over the kingdom. He also ordered a SR 60 million donation to set up and repair mosques in Saudi Arabia. [Text]
[LD270414 Riyadh SPA in English 1905 GMT 26 Jun 82]

CSO: 4400/344

NUMAYRI ENDORSES CANDIDATES LISTS

Khartoum SUNA in English No 4148, 6 Jun 82 pp 2-4

[Text] Khartoum, June 6 (SUNA)--President of the Sudanese Socialist Union (SSU) Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri yesterday endorsed the final lists of candidates contesting for the elections of the offices of Regional Governors.

The endorsed lists were as below:

The Northern Region:

1. Ibrahim Ahmed Abdulla [Ibrahim Ahmad 'Abdallah]
2. Mohamed El Beshir El Amin [Muhammad al-Bashir al-Amin]
3. Mohamed El Hassan Awad El Karim [Muhammad al-Hassan 'Awad al-Karim]
4. Seif Eddin El Zubeir Hamad El Malik [Sayf al-Din al-Zubayr Hamad al-Malik]
5. Dr. Abdulla Ahmed Abdulla ['Abdallah Ahmad 'Abdallah]
6. Abdulla Ali Ahmed Jadalla ['Abdallah 'Ali Ahmad Jadallah]
7. Fadl Mohamed Fadl Barbari [Fadl Muhammad Fadl Barbari]
8. Alla Eddin Mohamed Osman Farah ['Ala'-al-Din Mohamed 'Uthman Farah]

The Central Region:

1. El Tigani Osman Ahmed El Mahi [al-Tijani 'Uthman Ahmad al-Mahi]
2. El Siddig Ahmed El Masaad [al-Siddig Ahmad al-Masa'ad]
3. Badr Eddin Yousif Habbani [Badr-al-Din Yusif Habbani]
4. Hussein Osman Abu Affan [Husayn 'Uthman 'Affan]
5. Abdel Rahim Mohamoud Ahmed ['Abd-al-Rahim Muhammad Ahmad]
6. Osman Abdel Gadir Abdel Latif ['Uthman 'Abd-al-Kadir 'Abd-al-Latif]
7. Osman Musa El Haj Yousif ['Uthman Musa al-Haj Yusif]
8. Awad El Sharraf El Sunni ['Awad al-Sharif al-Sunni]
9. Ghollamalla Mohamed El Sheikh [Ghulam Allah Muhammad al-Shaykh]
10. Fatima Ahmed Abdel Mahmoud ['Fatima Ahmad 'Abd-al-Mahmud]
11. Malik Amin Nabri
12. Mohamed El Abbas El Amin [Muhammad al-'Abbas al-Amin]
13. Mahmoud Mohamed Ahmed El Hilu [Mahmud Muhammad Ahmad al-Hilu]
14. Muzamil Ibrahim Diab
15. Musa Eisa Musa [Musa 'Isa Musa]

The Eastern Region:

1. Hamid Ali Shash [Hamid 'Ali Shash]
2. Dr. Hassan Ahmed Habish [Dr Hassan Ahmad Habish]
3. Abdulla Ahmed El Hardelu ['Abdallah Ahmad al-Hardilu]
4. Abdel Rahman Humeida Abdel Rahman ['Abd-al-Rahman Humayda 'Abd-al-Rahman]
5. Izz Eddin Hassan Khalil ['Izz-al-Din Hassan Khalil]
6. Ali Eisa Musa ['Ali 'Isa Musa]

Darfur Region:

1. Ibrahim Omor Mohamed [Ibrahim Umar Muhammad]
2. Ahmed Ibrahim Draig [Ahmad Ibrahim Draig]
3. Hussein Abakar Salih [Hussayn Abakar Salih]
4. Abdel Hamid El Tigani Abdel Magid ['Abd-al-Hamid al-Tijani 'Abd-al-Majid]
5. Abdel Rahman Bushara Dosa ['Abd-al-Rahman Bushara Dusa]
6. Ali El Haj Mohamed ['Ali al-Haj Mohammad]
7. Farouq Mohamed Abu Sem [Faruq Muhammad Abu Sem]
8. Mohamed Ibrahim Osman Zidu [Muhammad Ibrahim 'Uthman Zidu]
9. Mohamed Bashar Ahmed [Muhammad Bashar Ahmad]
10. Mahmoud Beshir Gamaa [Mahmud Bashir Jama'a]
11. Yousif Suleiman Saeed Tekla [Yusif Sulayman Sa'id Tekla]

Kordofan Region:

1. Dr. El Tigani Hassan El Amin [Dr al-Tijani Hasan al-Amin]
2. El Tayeb El Mardi El Tayeb [al-Tayyib al-Mardi al-Tayyib]
3. El Fatih Mohamed Beshir Bushara [al-Fatih Muhammad Bashir Bushara]
4. Bakri Ahmed Adiel [Bakri Ahmad Adiel]
5. Hassan Mohamed Banaga [Hasan Muhammad Banaga]
6. Osman Hussein Osman ['Uthman Husayn 'Uthman]
7. Fadlalla Hammad Mohamed [Fadl-Allah Hammad Muhammad]
8. Mahmoud Hasieb Gaba [Mahmud Hasib Gaba]
9. Mirghani Abdel Rahman El Haj Suleiman [Mirghani Abd-al-Rahman al-Haj Sulayman]

CSO: 4500/206

PROBLEM OF UNDERDEVELOPED REGIONS EXAMINED

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic No 238, 14 Jun 82 p 27

[Article by Hassouna Mosbahi: "Mzali's Government Faces the Problem of the Poor Regions"]

[Text] The incidents which flared up in the last week of May 1982 in two poor regions (Talah, in central Tunisia on the Algerian border and al-'Ayn al-Bayda' on the western plains of al-Qayrawan), after the conclusion of a discussion of the new development plan and the Head of State's ratification of it, place Mohamed Mazali's Government face-to-face with a complicated and critical issue; i.e., the poor regions.

Some people call the poor regions in Tunisia the "Third World" in comparison with the wealthy regions in the Sahel and in the north. These regions are located primarily in the northwest (Bajah, al-Kaf, Jundubah), in the center (al-Qayrawan, al-Qasrayn) and in the south (Qafsah, Tawzar, Qibli, Tatawin, Madauin, Qabis). They suffer from a lack of infrastructure (hospitals, roads, factories) and a lack of what is referred to as a work habitat. [It is this scarcity which] lies at the heart of the rise in the rate of unemployment and migration to the large cities in the north and the Sahel, the emigration to Europe and the Western countries, and the dangerous spread of theft and crime. The regime in Tunisia became aware of this issue after the tragic Qafsah incidents of January 1980. It has promised to deal with it to avoid the problems. But within the framework of the new development plan, the regime has earmarked only 13 percent of the total budget allocated for further projects. Of course, this meager percentage has disturbed the inhabitants of these regions and added to their anger. This became clearly apparent during the public debates which took place during the popular consultation week. Thus it started in the city of Talah, a poor, mountainous region located on the Algerian border. The official and opposition press described these incidents as very serious since thousands of citizens demonstrated and violent clashes took place between them and the security forces, which were followed by the arrest of scores of youths. Only a few days later the inhabitants of the area of al-'Ayn al-Bayda' held up traffic heading for the city of al-Qayrawan and Qafsah in the early morning. The security forces intervened to disperse them, but this occurred only after the death of one

of the demonstrators and one of the security men. Scores of individuals were wounded and imprisoned. Evidently these clashes were the first such clashes to be witnessed by the country during the period of Mohamed Mazali. Even during the massive strikes staged by the public transportation workers, bank employees, educators and university students at the end of last year and the beginning of this year, the streets of Tunisia had never witnessed clashes of this kind, which remind us of the period of Hedi Mouira and especially of the incidents which took place at the end of 1977 and the beginning of 1978.

These regions suffer not only from economic, social and cultural underdevelopment, but from the bribery, favoritism and oppression of their officials as well. It is said that the inhabitants of al-Qayrawan and its delegations are suffering under the governor of the province who treats the people with disdain and does not respect their customs and traditions and who makes no effort to deal with the current problems. It is also said that since the outset of the incidents in the village of al-'Ayn al-Bayda', he ordered the opening of fire and the use of violence [on the demonstrators] and did not heed the advice of some of the officials who wanted to negotiate with the people and end the demonstrations through peaceful means.

These poor regions participated in the national movement since its inception, contributed scores of martyrs and produced heroes who played an important role in politics, culture and unionist activity (Mohamed Ali El-Hami, Tahar El-Haddad, Belkacem Chabbi, Daghbaji and others). Through the socialist development plan, which was spearheaded by Ahmed Ben Salah, greater attention has been paid these regions, because factories, secondary institutions, cultural centers and libraries have been built. But the disparity between these regions and the wealthy regions has become sharper in the seventies. Hedi Nouira was from the upper middle class and the farthese among the party and government officials from understanding the country's problems and people's concerns. For this reason, his development plan focused on the wealthy areas and completely neglected the poor ones. The result was the tragic Qafsah incident in 1980. When Mohamed Mazali came to power, he spoke in his numerous public addresses about this phenomenon, and he promised to deal with it so that it would not lead the country into one of the political disasters. But this is not the only issue. There are many issues which date back to the preceding periods and are still like live coals. It was Mohamed Mzali's duty to confront and bring about the solutions to the following issues:

- The issue of democratic freedoms and the parties
- The issue of the Tunisian General Federation of Labor
- The university issue
- The issue of Tunisian-Libyan relations, and many other issues

So far we are of the opinion that Mohamed Mzali has achieved relative success in dealing with the issues of freedoms and the parties, the Tunisian General

Federation of Labor and Tunisian-Libyan relations. However, he has not been successful in dealing with the university issue which has become very complicated due to the proliferation of extremist tendencies.

The issue of the disparity between the regions still remains, and it appears that the new development plan has ignored it. The meager percentage earmarked for the development of the poor regions will not allow Mohamed Mzali's Government to surmount the overwhelming obstacles which he now faces and which, if they continue, will give the extremists another opportunity to foment unrest and push the inhabitants of the poor regions to engage in demonstrations and violence. At any rate, Mohamed Mzali thus far is dealing with problems brought about by those prime ministers who preceded him. For this reason, judging him will always remain difficult.

CSO: 4504/372

TUNISIA

BRIEFS

UPDATE ON FUNDAMENTALISTS--After many months the seclusion of Rached Ghanouchi has finally come to an end--but in a strange way! A representative of the administration came and asked some of them [the prisoners] to gather their belongings and leave the cell immediately. He refused to answer any questions. In the face of everyone's insistence on ascertaining the reason, 16 guards were summoned and threatened to drag the prisoners out if they refused to obey the orders. So it was that 7 of them already found themselves with Rached Ghanouchi in a cramped cell. We learned from some of the families (of Ghanouchi, Salah Ben Abdallah, Salah Kerker and Najib El-Ayari) that they were suffering from severe diarrhea and fever as a result of eating spoiled food. This confirms the legitimacy of their demand for a refrigerator like their comrades in the 9th of April Prison. [Text] [Tunis AL-RA'Y in Arabic 11 Jun 82 p 4]

CSO: 4504/378

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July 16, 1982